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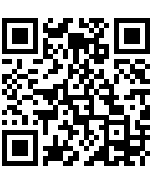

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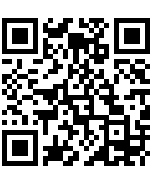

MISCELLANIES

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MISCELLANIES

OF THE

Philobiblon Society.

VOL. VI.

Quia vero de Librorum amore principaliter disserit, placuit nobis, more veterum Latinorum, ipsum Græco vocabulo Philobiblon amabiliter nuncupare.

Richard de Bury.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY WHITTINGHAM AND WILKINS.

1860-1.

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HISTORY OF PRINTING

IN

CHINA AND EUROPE.

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HISTORY OF PRINTING IN CHINA AND EUROPE.

WHEN the Earl of Elgin was on the point of ſtarting on his firſt miſſion to China, in the year 1857, I aſked him to make inquiries reſpecting various important inventions which are ſuppoſed to have been known in the Celeſtial Empire for many centuries before they were diſcovered in Europe. It has been generally ſuppoſed that the mariners' compaſs, gunpowder, and its application to fire-arms, as well as to fire-works, the art of diſtilling ardent ſpirits, and the wonderful art of Printing, were all in uſe almoſt from time

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immemorial in China. Modern reſearches have given us more detailed information as to the dates of ſeveral manufactures of Porcelain; and it ſeems wonderful that ſo uſeful a production, and one now ſo univerſally diffuſed all over the Weſtern World, ſhould have been unknown in Europe leſs than 200 years ago.

Although robes of ſilk were to be purchaſed at a great price, in the time of Charlemagne, and that one of the Fathers of the Church declaims againſt the luxury and impropriety of the "ſericas veſtes," robes of tranſparent ſilk, which diſplayed he thought too much of the beauties of the fair ladies of his time, this material ſo coſtly in the realms of Chriſtendom was commonly worn by all but the very humbleſt orders of ſociety in China, while our Britiſh anceſtors rejoiced in the perhaps leſs luxurious, but ſtill more liberal diſplay of their

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perſonal charms, in a complete ſuit of paint, a ſtyle of coſtume calculated for finer weather than that which we uſually enjoy in this country in the nineteenth century.

The Chineſe are alſo ſaid to be in poſſeſſion of certain medical ſpecifics which are of the utmoſt importance to the whole human race. Mr. Fortune deſcribes a method of curing fevers and rheumatiſm by a proceſs of ſhampooing, and the adminiſtration of teas or tiſannes and ſome red pills, which appear to be a ſort of patent medicine ſold all over China, and made up from a preſcription in the hands of the family who are deſcended from the doctor who originally compounded the medicine.

On theſe ſubjects Lord Elgin had better opportunities of gaining information than any of his predeceſſors; and it is to be hoped that we ſhall no longer remain in doubt as to the truth

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and value of the knowledge which has been aſcribed to the wiſe men of the Eaſt; for now that the time has come when "many ſhall run to and fro, and knowledge ſhall be increaſed," it is to be hoped that having convinced the unfortunate Chineſe of the ſuperiority of our underſtanding in the arts of war, ſome of the benefits to be obtained by improvements in the arts of peace may be exchanged to the advantage of both nations.

Lord Elgin was kind enough to accede to my requeſt; and on his return to England he gave me the following anſwer to his inquiries about the invention of Printing. The paper is one of great intereſt, as I believe it is the firſt authentic account which has been brought to Europe of the riſe and progreſs of this moſt important art in China, where it appears to have been in common uſe for 500 years before it was brought

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forward in Europe, by Guttemberg, Fauſt, and Schœffer, in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Ningpo, 5th April, 1858.

My Lord,

It quite eſcaped me, at the time your Lordſhip was enquiring about old books, as proof of the date of early printing in China, that I had a copy of a book printed in A. D. 1415, that is to ſay, ſome 30 years before the invention of printing in Europe. It is the copy of the Complete Philoſophy mentioned on page 338 of my "Chineſe and other Rebellions;" of which latter I have told my agent to ſend in a copy, in the reſpectful hope that your Lordſhip will do me the honour of accepting it. The examination of this copy of the Complete Philoſophy, ſince your Lordſhip left, having led me to expreſs my doubts to one of my Chineſe clerks as to the poſſibility of Chineſe paper laſting ſo long, I found that I have been wrong in aſſuming that it will only laſt two or three hundred years. The clerk ſaid, in conſiderable ſurpriſe at my doubts, "But paper will laſt 1000 years, if it is properly taken care of." He then added, that there is,

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in the Palace at Peking, and now preſerved under glaſs, a piece of paper containing ſome of the hand-writing of Wăn e che, a celebrated caligraphiſt, who lived under the Tſin dynaſty, upwards of 1500 years ago. This has, it ſeems, conſtantly been in Imperial poſſeſſion during a long ſeries of dynaſties.

All this was confirmed by the ſeparate teſtimony of another clerk (who like the firſt is a Peking man), and I have now little doubt that it may be poſſible to get for your Lordſhip, before you leave China, copies of books printed five or ſix hundred years ago, according to the evidence of the dates in them, and the opinions of Chineſe antiquaries.

But what it might be well to impreſs particularly on the mind of the gentleman in whoſe behalf your Lordſhip is making theſe inquiries, is, that no copies of old books, however old we may morally convince ourſelves that they are, will eſtabliſh the early date of printing in China ſo well as the Chineſe hiſtorical notices of the fact. For it is much eaſier to reprint exactly, or to make a fac-ſimile of, an old Chineſe book, a couple of hundred years after its firſt publication, than to falſify a Chineſe hiſtorical record. The thing may and does happen, without the leaſt intention of deceiving any one. When a new book is publiſhed in China, it is firſt written out, leaf by leaf, on thin paper, each leaf is then ſtuck,

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face down, on a block of wood; when the block-cutter cuts away everything but the characters, bordering lines, &c. &c., which are to be printed, and which he ſees reverſed through the thin paper. Now when a wealthy Chineſe wiſhes to give greater diffuſion to a valuable old work, of which a perfect and unimproveable edition already exiſts, he procures an unimpaired copy which happens to have been printed on thinniſh paper, and has a ſet of blocks cut from *that*, as thoſe for a new book muſt be cut from a manuſcript. If the cutting is carefully done, you get, in this way, as nearly as poſſible a fac-ſimile of the original edition of the work; and in a few years a badly preſerved copy of this reprint would look older than a well preſerved copy of the original. Editions of this kind are, I may add, called technically "*fan pan*, reverſed editions."

I have now before me a fine edition of an authoritative work which may be deſcribed as a Dictionary of Hiſtory, more eſpecially of the hiſtory of literature and of political inſtitutions. This was written by Ma twan lin, in the beginning of the Yuen dynaſty, and a copy was preſented to the fourth Emperor of that dynaſty in A. D. 1319. An Emperor of the preſent dynaſty, viz. Keen lung, (he whom Lord Macartney ſaw,) publiſhed an edition of this work, with a preface of his own, dated A. D. 1748. The copy I have got gives this

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preface and the text exactly as Keen lung gave them and, *in ſo far as the letter-preſs is concerned*, this, my copy, might be of his edition publiſhed 110 years ago; yet, to my certain knowledge, it was publiſhed at Canton not ten years ago. A ſuitable manipulation of this copy, by judicious expoſure to damp, worms, and ſmoke, would give its new paper the look of 100 years of age. It could then only be proved not to be Keen lung's edition by compariſon with a copy of the latter, the genuineneſs of which, again, would have to be firſt proved. And even after it was thus proved not to be Keen lung's edition, it would be almoſt impoſſible to prove that it was not a reprint publiſhed only a few years later. Further, remove the firſt three leaves, which contain Keen lung's preface, leaving that of Jin tſung of the Yuen dynaſty and give the paper a ſtill older appearance, and there would be nothing in the letter-preſs and the appearance of the whole to prevent its paſſing, with the bulk of educated people, for an edition of 540 years ago, though a very learned and acute Chineſe librarian might convince *himſelf* that it was a modern copy.

Again, therefore, I ſay that Chineſe hiſtorical notices reſpecting printing, fix the period of its invention far more reliably than will copies of old books. One of the illuſions which exiſts to conſiderable extent in the

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Weſt with reſpect to the Chineſe conſiſts in the *practical* diſbelief in their hiſtories. When it is aſſerted, in a general and abſtract way, that the Chineſe have very old, authentic hiſtories, the aſſertion is, perhaps, not diſputed. But when people find, in theſe hiſtories, particular ſtatements regarding things or events, which ſtatements do not ſquare with their own preconceived notions, they refuſe to believe. They ſtake their own what *ſhould be*, againſt the what actually *was* of the Chineſe records. But this is to manifeſt a total diſregard of the rules of ſound hiſtorical criticiſm. I am convinced that Sir G. C. Lewis, one of the moſt ſceptical of hiſtorical critics, would place the reliability of Chineſe hiſtory very high. He diſbelieves the early Roman hiſtory, not becauſe it deals with a very ancient period, but becauſe there were no contemporary narratives or records. Grecian hiſtory of a conſiderable portion of the ſame period, he would believe on account of its contemporary writers. Now there is no one Nation in the World which has had its hiſtory narrated by contemporary writers for ſo long a period as the Chineſe. In *this* reſpect, their literature is like that of the Jews, of the Greeks, of the Romans, of Italy of the Middle Ages, and of Modern Europe put all together. Chineſe hiſtory contains records and ſtate papers written 4000 years ago. Confucius, in his 69th year finiſhed

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a history of his own times some 48 years before Herodotus made known his work; and, speaking of periods *comparatively* recent, one of the reasons why the statements of Chinese history deserve, in the main, more credence than those of Western history of the same centuries is precisely the fact that the Chinese have had paper for seventeen hundred years and printed books for a thousand. They have thus had facilities for contemporary recording and subsequent reliable transmission such as no other people has enjoyed for the same length of time. Add to this that China has, for at least 3000 years, had its officially appointed or State annalists; upon whose labours its histories, properly so called, have been largely based.

I now give extracts from the two most celebrated and esteemed of these histories; and also from the Historical Dictionary of Ma twan lin mentioned above. It was presented to the Emperor in A. D. 1319.

The first of the two histories is that of Sze ma kwang, a celebrated writer and Minister of state of the Sung dynasty. It was finished in the 7th month of the 17th year of Shin tsung (A. D. 1084).

The second history is that of Choo tsze. He and it are noticed at pages 335, 336 and 340, of "the Chinese and their Rebellions." It was finished in A. D. 1172.

My extracts are from the complete editions

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of all three works; of which Ma twan lin's is in 110 volumes, Sze ma kwang's in 120 volumes, and Choo tſze's in 160 volumes.

In Sze ma kwang's Hiſtory, among the notices of the 3rd year of Ming tſung of the Tang dynaſty (A. D. 932) ſtands the following:—

"Orders were firſt iſſued to the National College to collate the Nine Sacred Books and print them for ſale."

In Choo tſze's Hiſtory the circumſtance is mentioned as follows, under the ſame year (A. D. 932):—

"In the 2nd month, the Tang dynaſty for the firſt time cut blocks for the Nine Sacred Books and had them printed for ſale."

In Sze ma Kwang's Hiſtory, among the notices of the 6th month of the 3rd Kwang ſhun year of the ſecond Chow dynaſty (A. D. 943) ſtands the following:—

"Formerly, in the time of Ming tſung of the Tang dynaſty, the Miniſters Tung taou and Le yee prayed (the Emperor) to command Teen min, (an officer) of the National College, to correct the Nine Sacred Books, then to cut blocks for them and print them for ſale; and the Court aſſented. The printed edition was finiſhed and preſented to His Majeſty on the Ting ſze day of the month. From this time forth, even in periods of anarchy, the Nine Sacred Books were tranſlated and diffuſed very widely."

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Both Sze ma kwang's and Choo tsze's Histories mention that about the same time (A.D. 943) a wealthy individual of the Shuh State (the present province of Sze chuen) founded a College and procured the publication of a printed State edition of the Nine Sacred Books; and that, in consequence of these measures, literature and scholarship subsequently abounded in that principality.

In that portion of the Ma twan lin's Historical Dictionary of National Institutions and Literature in which he discusses the authenticity and genuineness of the then received texts of the Sacred Books, we find the following excerpts from a previous writer, Ye shih lin, who lived about A. D. 1130:—

"Ye shih lin states:—'Before the Tang dynasty [which *began* A. D. 620] all books were manuscripts, the art of printing not being in existence. People regarded the collecting of books as something honourable, and no one had them in large quantity. Those who collected them had great ability in collating and comparing, whence it frequently occurred that people had fine copies. And students, as a consequence of the great labour of transcription, also acquired great ability and closeness in reciting them. In the time of the Five Dynasties, Fung taou first memorialized his Sovereign [as mentioned above] praying that an official printing establishment might be put in operation. And again in those years of our

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reigning dynasty called Shun hwa (A. D. 990-994) officers were commissioned to print the Historical Records and the Annals of the First and Second Han Dynasties. From that time forth printed books became still more numerous; scholars and officers ceased to make the collection of books a chief object of their attention; and, as Students found it easy to obtain books, the practice of reciting was in consequence broken up. But printed books were at first not correct; they always contained errors; and, what was deeply to be regretted, the world generally having assumed their correctness while the manuscript copies daily disappeared, there was afterwards no means of correcting the mistakes.'"

"He (Ye shih lin) also states:—'According to popular report, the cutting of blocks and printing of books from them was commenced by Fung taou. This is not the fact; but the blocks for the College edition of the Five Sacred Books were prepared by him. The introduction to Lew peen's Exhortations states that when he was in Shuh [the present Sze chuen] he frequently inspected the book shops; and he says the character-books [analogous to our A, B, C books] and other school-books were generally printed on paper from cut blocks. Therefore, printing certainly existed in the time of the Tang dynasty; but I apprehend that it was not equal in workmanship to the present. At present, of all books printed

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throughout the Empire, thoſe of Hang chow are conſidered the beſt; thoſe of Shuh (Sze chuen) come next; and thoſe of Fuh keen are worſt. Of late years, the printing blocks of the Capital [at that time Kae fung in Honan] begins to ſtand but little after thoſe of Hang chow; but the paper uſed is not ſo fine. In Shuh and Fuh keen, ſoft wood is much uſed for cutting into printing blocks, the object of which is their eaſy completion with a rapid ſale for the books. Hence the workmanſhip is not good. Fuh keen editions are ſpread almoſt over the whole empire, and that preciſely in conſequence of the eaſe with which they are got ready.'"

From the context of the laſt preceding excerpt, it appears that Lew peen, who gives the firſt notice of reliable authority reſpecting printing, lived under the Tang dynaſty. And accordingly, in both Sze ma kwang's and Choo tſze's Hiſtories, I find, under the year A. D. 902, the following notice of him, among the records of the Tangs:—

"Lew peen was made Governor of Loo chow. The Lew family, from the time of Lew kung cho had been held in honour by the ſcholars and officials of its adherence, in every generation, to filial, fraternal and ſocial duties and obſervances. At the time when Lew peen was a member of the Cenſorate, the Emperor was about to make him Miniſter; but the Eunuchs hated him, and hence he was long

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puniſhed by being kept in provincial poſts. He gave the following warning admonition to the juniors of his family: 'The members of eminent families have cauſe to be afraid and muſt not rely on their poſition. For each ſingle deficiency in character or conduct they receive a heavier puniſhment than others, and thus when they join their anceſtors under the earth, are unable to look them in the face. That is why they have cauſe to be afraid. In an eminent houſe an arrogant ſpirit eaſily finds birth, and when the members of a family are numerous they excite the envy of others. People will not believe in their good deeds or real abilities, while their ſlighteſt blemiſhes or faults are pointed at by every one. That is why they muſt not rely on their poſition. The younger members of wealthy families muſt be unuſually diligent in ſtudy and unuſually energetic in their conduct, when, only, they will ſucceed in placing themſelves on a level with others.'"

From the above extracts we learn, therefore, that before the Tang dynaſty, that is, before A. D. 620, there were no printed books in China, while, on the other hand, about the year A. D. 900, they were known to a high officer and eſſayiſt, to be in common uſe as School Books in one portion of the country. I think we may therefore ſafely ſay that the printing of books for ſale and uſe, in place of

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manuſcripts, began about A. D. 860 or 1000 years ago. I ſhall continue to attend to the ſubject; but I do not think it likely that your Lordſhip will be able to aſcertain the date of printing more nearly or more reliably than as it is fixed by the above notices. For Sze ma kwang, Choo tſze, and Ma twan lin were earneſt and ſober critics and antiquarians as well as hiſtorical writers; and the latter is ſpecially celebrated for the extent and accuracy of his antiquarian reſearches. As to reliability, I may add that it would be far more reaſonable to call in queſtion the entries in our Doomſday book written in the rude and unlettered England of A. D. 1086, than thoſe of Sze ma kwang's Hiſtory, finiſhed two years earlier. For the miniſter of State, Sze ma kwang was himſelf but one of a then already long ſeries of examples of the high practical eſteem in which ſcholarſhip was held in this country, at a time, when in the Weſt, our Chroniclers were obſcure Monks, and learning was a diſgrace.

I am,

with much reſpect,

Your Lordſhip's obedient ſervant,

THOMAS TAYLOR MEADOWS.

His Excellency, the Right Honourable the Earl of Elgin and Kincardin, K.T., &c. &c., Shanghae.

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It appears to be ſatisfactorily proved that Printing was invented in China about the year 860 of our era. I will now mention ſome circumſtances by which it would ſeem that Printing was known in Europe at a much earlier period, although it may not have come into general uſe till the middle of the fifteenth century. Pieces of pottery have been often found with Latin inſcriptions ſtamped upon them, pigs of lead from the Engliſh mines have the names of Roman Emperors impreſſed, or perhaps only caſt upon them. One of theſe is in my own collection, as well as three ſtamps, impreſſions of which are given on the following leaf. One of theſe is in Greek. Such ancient ſtamps, or printing-preſſes, are of great rarity; this is the only one in the Greek language that I have met with.

In the fifth or ſixth century A. D.

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whole books were printed. As far as can be aſcertained, they were not printed with a preſs, but each letter was ſtamped ſeparately with a *hot* metal die, in the ſame way as a book-binder at the preſent day letters the title of a book on the back of the binding. Two of theſe curious books are ſtill extant, one of them is called the Codex Argenteus, and is preſerved in the library at Upſal; the other is a magnificent quarto of the Goſpels in the library of the Chapter at Verona. I have examined this book carefully, and have no doubt that it was printed in the way I have mentioned above; the letters are in ſilver, on dark blue, or purple vellum, the initial letters being gold. Some of the letters are cut through by the ſharp edges of the metal die, others ſeem to have been burnt; in ſome caſes the letters have fallen out, too much force having been uſed by the

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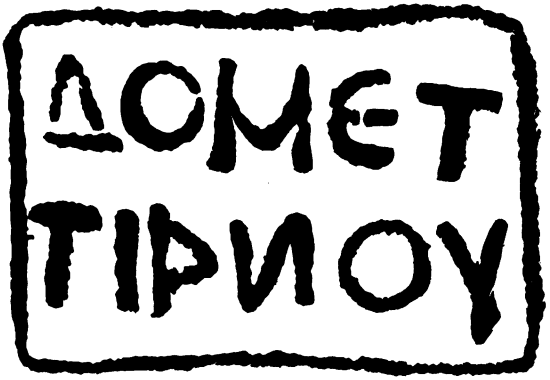

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workman in impreſſing the letter on the page; this book is in Latin, and was probably executed in Italy. The book at Upſal is in Mœſogothic, and was probably completed in the north of Europe. It is not likely that theſe two very intereſting works are the only ones that were ever produced; and we may ſafely conjecture that many books were printed in this way, in different parts of Europe, between the years 500 and 1000. It is not unlikely that others may be diſcovered, if attention is raiſed to the ſubject, and reſearches made in the ancient libraries of German and Italian convents and churches.

Though none of the early block-books have dates affixed to them, many of them are with reaſon ſuppoſed to be more ancient than any books printed with moveable types. Their reſemblance to Chineſe block-books is ſo exact, that they would almoſt ſeem

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to be copied from the books commonly uſed in China. The impreſſions are taken off on one ſide of the paper only, and in binding, both the Chineſe, and ancient German, or Dutch block-books, the blank ſides of the pages are placed oppoſite each other, and ſometimes paſted together; by this means the printed ſides of the pages face each other as the leaves of the book are opened. The impreſſions are not taken off with printer's ink, but with a brown paint or colour, of a much thinner deſcription, more in the nature of Indian ink as we call it, which is uſed in printing Chineſe books. Altogether the German and Oriental block-books are ſo preciſely alike in almoſt every reſpect, that unleſs we can find one of the European books, with any pretence to an antiquity previous to the year 860, we muſt ſuppoſe that the proceſs of printing then muſt have been copied

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from ancient Chineſe ſpecimens, brought from that country by ſome early travellers, whoſe names have not been handed down to our times.

I mentioned in a former paper an account of certain broadſides, initial letters to edicts, Papal bulls, &c. which had been uſed by one Pamfilo Caſtaldi, of Feltre, near Venice, towards the end of the fourteenth century. He is ſaid to have produced theſe works by the aſſiſtance of ſtamps made of glaſs, and afterwards of wood, the idea of which he took from ſeeing ſome wooden blocks which Marco Polo had brought to Venice from China ſome years before. The tradition goes on to ſay that Guttemberg ſaw the blocks and ſtamps for printing the ornamental initial letters in the workſhop of Caſtaldi, and improving on the principle, afterwards brought the idea into practical uſe at Mentz,

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where he printed the firſt books with moveable types.

The probability of this hiſtory is ſupported by the diſcovery of a document in the archives of Straſburgh, where Guttemberg was eſtabliſhed as a merchant in 1427. He was implicated there in a law-ſuit for breach of promiſe of marriage, which was brought againſt him by Anne of the Iron Door, whom he afterwards married. This law-ſuit ſupplies another link in the hiſtory, as the deſignation of the Iron Door belonged to a branch of the great Venetian family of Contarini; it is therefore moſt likely that Guttemberg had met this lady at Venice, the great emporium of all merchants and traders of thoſe days; or, at any rate, that he was acquainted with Venetians who might have told him, even if he had not ſeen with his own eyes, the contrivances for ſimplifying the production

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of manuſcript books, which Caſtaldi had in his turn borrowed from the Chineſe inventions which Marco Polo, the famous traveller, had imported from the diſtant Empire of Cathay.

The firſt book printed, or at leaſt now known to have been printed, by Guttemberg, with a date, is the Pſalter of 1457; but ſo beautiful and difficult a work is probably not the firſt which he had produced. Many little grammars, or Donatuſes, of which ſome fragments are to be ſeen in the Britiſh Muſeum, from the collection of Butler, Biſhop of Lichfield, ſeem to be in the ſame type as the Pſalter and the great and wonderful Mazarine Bible. And though no book is at preſent known with a date earlier than 1457, ſmall works moſt probably were printed by Guttemberg in 1440, if not earlier. An argument in aid of this aſſertion is

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ſupported by the following very intereſting diſcovery.

On Eaſter eve, March 22, 1856, ſome workmen were employed to enlarge the cellar of the tavern at Mentz, which is always ſuppoſed to occupy the poſition of the reſidence of Guttemberg, where he formerly carried on in ſecret the myſterious art, by which he was enabled to ſell, what were conſidered to be manuſcripts, at a cheaper rate than that at which ſuch books were uſually offered in the literary market. The workmen in pulling down the wall on one ſide of the cellar came to a cloſet or receſs which had been walled up in ſuch a manner as to conceal its exiſtence; here they found ſeveral pieces of wood of various ſizes, all more or leſs ſtained with black, eight pieces of red ſand-ſtone, ſuch as is found in the neighbourhood of the city, in the form

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of cones, evidently for poliſhing and rubbing down the colour or printer's ink, and laſtly, the beam of Guttemberg's original printing-preſs, with his initials on it, and the date of 1441; proving that as he had broken up this preſs he had certainly printed ſomething before that time. The accompanying ſketch of theſe moſt intereſting relics, which I made upon the ſpot, on the 31ſt of July, 1856, will tell their own ſtory better than any words I can add upon the ſubject. The beam is of a black wood, apparently oak, and about three feet ſix inches long, one corner is broken, which has taken off the upper half of the letter G, ſome rough uſage has alſo nearly eraſed the lower half of the figure C; the cones are not all of the ſame ſize, but run from nine to ten or eleven inches long, their lower ends worn quite ſmooth with friction.

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Each has a hole through the top, probably for a ſtring to hang them up by, when wet with the printer's ink.

I am glad to take advantage of the opportunity of printing theſe notes in the Miſcellany of the Philobiblon Society, as they may be a means of adding to our knowledge of literary antiquities, and point out the direction in which further inquiries may be made on the hiſtory of the art of printing.

Since theſe ſheets have been in the printer's hands, the Earl of Elgin has returned from his ſecond ſucceſsful and wonderful expedition to China and Japan. He has informed me, that he has taken ſteps to ſecure ſome ſpecimens of very ancient Chineſe printed books, for the Britiſh Muſeum.

Although I am ſurpriſed that a

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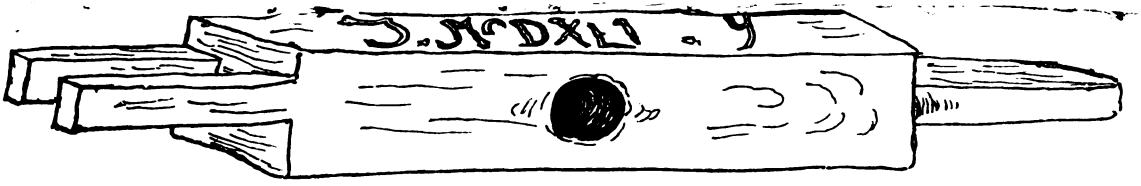

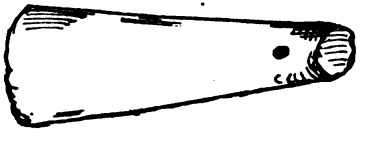

Johan 1441. Guttemberg

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nobleman of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities ſhould not immediately have perceived the expediency of adding ſome of theſe volumes to the collection of one of the members of the Philobiblon Society, yet I am glad that his attention ſhould have been turned to the elucidation of ſo intereſting an inquiry, and I am happy to think that ſo important and curious an addition is likely to be made to the treaſures of the National Library of England.

R. CURZON.

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THE FIRST PRINTERS OF BELGIUM AND ENGLAND.

By Octave Delepierre.

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THE

FIRST PRINTERS OF BELGIUM AND ENGLAND.

IN the hiſtory of mediæval and modern literature, there is one characteriſtic among many others which is very ſtriking. It is that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the biographical details of the lives of many of the luminaries who enlightened the intellectual world of the ſubſequent periods, are partially, and ſometimes even totally unknown. In modern times, on the contrary, we are often made acquainted with the moſt intimate circumſtances and facts regarding the lives of authors

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whom the world ignores. But as there is good in all things, this apparent neglect on the one ſide, and ſuperabundant care on the other, have each their advantages. Who can ſay what ſhall be the judgment of poſterity on cotemporary great men? Celebrities have diſappeared for ever in the waters of *Lethe*, and have been ignored by after ages, while names almoſt unknown to cotemporaries have later become famous.

We muſt not therefore complain of being too minutely informed in the preſent day of the lives of thoſe who labour in the field of intelligence, and of being too ſcantily informed concerning the men of genius who lived in the paſt; juſtice is done ſooner or later, and all find their level.

The ſcarcity of details on many of the remarkable men of the middle

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ages, is owing partly to the uniformity and retirement of the lives of ſcholars, and partly to the then exiſting fact that work, whether it was embodied in a book or in a Cathedral, drew all the attention of the intellectual world, and abſorbed the individuality of the workman, while with us, the reverſe is often the caſe. If it is true that the art of printing is one of the greateſt boons which the fifteenth century left to poſterity, they by whom it was firſt introduced have a right to be conſidered among the benefactors of mankind, and all that relates to themſelves and to their labours ſhould be eagerly accepted.

What Caxton is to England, Colard Manſion is to Belgium, and by a curious coincidence, friendly relations exiſted between theſe two great men, who laboured ſide by ſide in the field which was to produce

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thoſe grand reſults, without which we may doubt if political liberty could ever have exiſted.

Colard Manſion is one of the few among the ancient printers who, like Caxton, uſed his preſſes to publiſh his own works; but we will ſpeak preſently of the connection between theſe two men.

Although much has been written on the talent and the induſtry of the Belgium printer, he is very little known in England, and his biography is a deſideratum in the rich collection of materials gathered together by Engliſh authors who have wiſhed to make a hiſtory of the art of printing. Proſper Marchand,[1] the Abbé de St. Léger,[2] De la Serna Santanda,[3] Lam-

[1] Dictionnaire Hiſtorique.

[2] Eſprit des Journaux, Nov. 1779, p. 245.

[3] Dictionnaire Bibliographique du xv. ſiècle, t. 1. p. 351.

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binet,[4] Van Praet,[5] Beuchot,[6] the Abbé Carton,[7] Dibdin,[8] and a few others leſs known, have all contributed to give him the praiſe which he ſo well deſerves, but ſtill in England he is ſcarcely known beyond his mere name.

We have no original documents to prove the birth-place of Colard Manſion, but as Mr. Scourion, ſecretary to the Municipality of Bruges, has proved it in a very able pamphlet, there can be no doubt that he was a native of Bruges in Flanders, and of an ancient family, for one finds

[4] Recherches ſur l'origine de l'Imprimerie, t. II.

[5] Eſprit des Journaux, Février, 1780, et *Notice ſur Colard Manſion.*

[6] Biographie Univerſelle, tome XXIV. article *Manſion.*

[7] Colard Manſion et les imprimeurs Brugeois du XV. ſiècle.

[8] Bibliotheca Spenceriana, t. I. p. 289.

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the name of a *maſter Tybande Manſione*, in an official paper of that town, in the year 1310, wherein he is mentioned as a lawyer.

Before the period when he became known as a printer, he was a *Calligrapher* or writer of manuſcript books, and in one of the accounts of Guillaume de Poupet, counſellor and keeper of the jewels of the Duke Philippe of Burgundy, we read that in 1450, fifty-four livres were paid to him for the manuſcript of a romance called *Romuléon*—"*à Colard Manſion pour un livre nommé Romuléon en ung volume couvert de velours bleu acheté à lui* LIII. *Livres.*"

His name is alſo inſerted in 1454 in the regiſter of the *Guild* or Confraternity of bookſellers and writers of Bruges, depoſited in the Archives of that city. It is well known that in order to obtain permiſſion to exerciſe any profeſſion in Bruges or in

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other towns, during the middle ages, it was neceſſary to poſſeſs the citizenſhip or *droit de Bourgeoiſie.* Moreover, Manſion confirms this by his ſubſcription to the tranſlation of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, printed at Bruges in 1484. *Fait et imprimé en la noble ville de Bruges par Colard Manſion citoien de icelle au mois de May, l'an de grâce* M. *quatre cens* IIII. XX *et* IIII.

"Done and printed in the noble "city of Bruges by Colard Manſion, "citizen of the ſaid city, in the "month of May, A.D. 1484."

In 1471, he became maſter of the corporation or guild of printers; and two years later, the above-mentioned regiſters affirm that he abſented himſelf for more than a year, probably that he might apply himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of the art of printing, and alſo inſtruct himſelf in the French language. It is moſt likely

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that *Louis de Bruges*, Lord of Gruthuſe (created Earl of Wincheſter by Edward IV. of England, for his hoſpitality to that monarch), the great protector of Colard Manſion, adviſed him to do ſo. De Gruthuſe poſſeſſed one of the fineſt libraries in the country, and had ſtood godfather to one of Colard's ſons;—it is natural to ſuppoſe that he ſhould have given encouragement to a man who was ſo able to promote the ſplendour of his already far-famed collection of books. Two or three years later Colard Manſion went to Abbeville in France, and there he finiſhed his French tranſlation of "*Le Dialogue des Créatures.*" This manuſcript ſhows how imperfectly Manſion wrote French at this period, for in the dedication to Philippe de Crèvecœur, governor of Picardy, and a relative of the Comte de Gruthuſe, he ſays, "*Veuillies moi excuſer le aucun rude et non aorné langage vous y trouvez.*"

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It was about this time probably that Manſion made the acquaintance of William Caxton, who was the firſt to introduce the art of printing into England.

We propoſe entering into a few details concerning the friendſhip of theſe two celebrated men, as we believe the fact is little known in England, and as it will tend to prove that the art of printing was practiſed in the town of Bruges as early as 1468, inſtead of 1472, the year generally aſſigned to it. We intend in this inquiry to take advantage of a very ſcarce little pamphlet publiſhed by the Abbé Carton in 1848, and to compare the facts with the information given on Caxton by Frognall, Dibdin, and others, and on Colard Manſion by Meſſieurs Joſeph van Praet, Scourion, and the authors we have quoted above. The details on the Belgium printer are very much ſcattered. This is per-

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haps one reaſon why his biography has been until now almoſt ignored out of Belgium, notwithſtanding the great literary merit of his works, and the pleaſant intimacy exiſting between him and Caxton.

Our firſt introduction to the latter is in a mercer's ſhop in London, when he was 18 years of age. His maſter probably foreſaw the riſing talents of his young apprentice, or at all events was well pleaſed with his good conduct, for at his death he bequeathed him 20 ſilver marks. A mercer in thoſe days was not what he is now—a dealer only in wrought ſilks and other ſuch goods, but this trade included alſo all articles of furniture, of *virtu*, and even manuſcripts.

After the death of his maſter, Robert Large, William Caxton continued to carry on his trade alone; and having proſpered, he was choſen

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one of the maſters of the Mercer's Company, and ſent as their principal agent to Holland, Zealand, and the Netherlands.

This poſt was a very important one, for in a document contained in the regiſters of the magiſtrates of Bruges (1465 to 1469), Caxton is called:—*Maître et gouverneur des marchands de la nation anglaiſe.*

Let it be remembered that at this period Bruges was ſtill one of the largeſt emporiums of commerce in the world, and that when (from 1200 to 1500) names like the celebrated Fuggieri repreſented Germany; the Dorias, the Grimaldis, the Spinolas, the Republic of Genoa; the Juſtiniani's, Venice; the Medinas, the Arandas, the De la Torre, Spain; the d'Aguillars and Portenaris, Florence; it was no ſmall honour to be named among theſe as the repreſentative of Britiſh commerce.

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We can aſcertain the year of Caxton's reſidence in Bruges from himſelf, in his *Hiſtoires troyennes* printed on the Continent in 1471. Thus we gather from his own words that he was in Bruges in 1442; and in confirmation of this we find in the account books of the Corporation of the Bookſellers of this town in 1455-1456,[1] "Item, received from *The* "*Engliſhman* for Moriſſe's Bible 12 "gros.—Item, received moreover "4 gros."

In 1464, Caxton was ſent as a ſpecial envoy to Bruges to ratify the treaty of commerce concluded ſome time previouſly with the Netherlands. It is moſt likely that he remained in Bruges from that time until his departure in 1471 for Cologne, from whence he transferred his printing-preſs to Weſtminſter Abbey, a year or two later.

[1] It is erroneouſly that M. van Praet mentions 1457-1458.

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He affirms in his own handwriting that he had printed on the Continent before he returned to England; and according to the beſt authorities it muſt have been between 1464 and 1468 that he firſt learned the art.

We will give at the end of this article the unpubliſhed document from the Archives of the town of Bruges in which Caxton is mentioned, and by which we ſhould have proved that he certainly learned the art of printing from the Belgium prototypographer Colard Manſion, whoſe biography we were preparing for the preſs; but we ſee by the proſpectus which Mr. William Blades has iſſued[2] that this learned gentleman is about to publiſh a hiſtory of William Caxton, wherein Colard Manſion occupies a

[2] The Life and Typography of William Caxton, England's prototypographer, completed from original ſources by William Blades, 2 vols. 8vo. *Publiſhed by Joſeph Lilly.*

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prominent place. We gladly, therefore, leave in his hands the biography of the great Bruges printer, whose name is so intimately connected with the introduction of the art of printing in England.

The fourth and fifth chapters of the first volume of Mr. Blades, of which we give the summary below, show the interest which the subject presents to archæologists; and especially to English readers, to whom Colard Mansion is so little known:—

"*The pre-eminence of Bruges. Printing carried on there at a very early date.*

"*Colard Mansion, the scribe and printer; a chronological list of his books; date of his 'Primum Opus;' locality of his printing office; his landlords; his flight from Bruges as an insolvent; what became of him? peculiarities of his workmanship.*

"*On certain books generally attributed to Caxton before his settlement at Westminster.*

"*Reasons for attributing the whole of them to Colard Mansion.*

"*The extent of Caxton's typography at Bruges; date of his return to England.*"

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EXTRAITS DES REGISTRES REPOSANT AUX ARCHIVES DE LA VILLE DE BRUGES EN FLANDRE.

1°. *Arrêts civils intitulés : " Regiſter van alle zaken ghehandelt bi Scepenen in heurlieden Camere daer zy daghelix vergaderen " (du 1er Sept. 1447 au 31 Août, 1452. fol. 124.*

A TOUS ceulx qui ces preſentes verront ou orront Bourgmaiſtres, Eſchevins et conſeil de la ville de Bruges, Salut. Savoir faiſons que par devant Roeland le Vos et Guerard le Groote, nos compaignons Eſchevins ſont au jour de huy venus en droit Guillaume Craes marchand d'Engleterre, demandeur d'une part, et Jean Selle et *Guillaume Cacſton*, auſſi marchands d'Engleterre, deffendeurs, d'autre part ; diſant le dit demandeur que Jean Granton, marchand de l'Eſtaple à Calais, lui eſtoit tenu et obligié envers lui en certaines ſommes de deniers, à ſcavoir premièrement en LX Livres

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deſterlins, à cauſe et par vertu de certaines obligances qu'il avoit devers lui, et en la ſomme de L Livres deſterlins à cauſe de certain change auquel ledit Jehan eſtoit envers lui tenu, et des depens et domaiges pour ce eus et ſoutenus; montant enſemble à CX livres deſterlins, pour laquelle ſomme de CX livres, il avoit fait arreſter dans ladite ville de Bruges ledit Jehan Granton; et que le dit Jehan eſtant arreſté, leſdits Jehan Selle et *Guillaume Cacſton* conſtituèrent pleſge envers lui d'en eſtre à droit et paier le jugié.

Et pour ce que ledit Jehan s'en eſtoit parti de ladite ville de Bruges ſans le avoir paié et contenté, ou ſoy preſenter en juſtice, il requerroit que les dits deffendeurs fuſſent conſtrains et condampnés comme pleſge dudit Jehan es ſommes deſſus déclarées.

Les dits défendeurs ad ce reſpondant, confeſſent que en la manière deſſus dite, ils s'eſtoient conſtitués pleſges envers ledit Guillaume Craes pour ledit Jehan Granton, mais diſoient que ledit Jehan eſtoit bien ſolvent et riche aſſez, et que tres bien lui payeroit; requerrant pour tant que ledit demandeur voulſiſt tenir ſa debte ſur ledit Jehan qui eſt ſon principal debteur, et eulx deſchargier de la dite pleſgerie; debatant auſſi la ſomme par le demandeur demandée à cauſe dudit change, pour certaines raiſons ad ce alléguées, le deſſus dit demandeur ſoy tenant à ſa dite pleſgerie, et requerrant

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comme deſſus. Enſemble pluſieurs autres raiſons par les dites parties propoſées, et que ſur la dite queſtion, oyés les dites parties en leurs raiſons, et auſſi certains marchands qui la dite queſtion avoient manyé; par nos dits compaignons Eſchevins a eſté dit, jugié, et appointié que les dits defendeurs comme pleſges dudit Jehan Granton paieront et contenteront ledit Guillaume Craes premièrement de la dite ſomme de LX Livres deſterlins dont la dite obligation fait mention, et en oultre de la ſomme de XXXV livres à cauſe dudit change, et ce que en dépend, et ce parfait, rendra la dite obligation, en donnant bonne et ſouffiſante caution pleſgerie montant au dites deux ſommes de LX et XXXV livres d'eſterlins, de au cas que en temps à venir ledit Jehan Granton voulſiſt dire contre la debte des dites ſommes, ou alléguer ſolution ou payement, et que à l'encontre dudit demandeur fuſt jugié, lors rendre et paier le dit jugié, juſques aux dites deux ſommes, et au deſſous; et reſervent aux dites défendeurs leur action et droit envers ledit Jehan Granton debteur, ſi avant que droit et raiſon vouldront.

En teſmoignage &c. &c. le 2 Janv. 1449 (vieux ſtyle).

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2°. *Troiſième volume des Arrêts civils du 2 Sept. 1465 au 30 Août, 1469.*

Comme Daniel Adriens dit Scipheer Daniel demandeur d'une part, et Jeroneme Vento pour et au nom de Jaques Dorie, marchand de Gènes, défendeur daultre part, ſe ſoient ſoubmis et compromis de toutes les différences qu'ils avaient enſemble aux dites ſentence, ordonnance et arbitraige de Willem Caxton, marchand d'Angleterre, maiſtre et gouverneur des marchands de la nation d'Angleterre par deça, et de Thomas Pervot, comme en arbitres, arbitrateurs, amiables compoſiteurs et communs amis, promettant les dites parties et chacun d'eulx, de bien et loyaulment entretenir, obſerver et accomplir tout ce que, par les dits arbitres ſeroit ſur les dites différences, dit, ſentencié, ordonné et arbitré, ſans faire ou venir à l'encontre en aucune manière ; et que les dits arbitres aient oy les raiſons des dites parties, et ſur ce, ordonne leurs ſentence et ordonnance, les quelles ils ont rapporté en la plaine chambre deſchevins de Bruges, ont eſté publié aux dites parties, pour ce que ledit Willem Caxton s'eſtoit neceſſairement retrait de la dite ville de Bruges ; Eſt-il que par la dite plaine chambre d'Eſchevins de Bruges,

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les dites parties ont eſté appellées, et ſont comparues, auſquels a eſté dit et ſignifié l'arbitraige et ordonnance des dits arbitres qui eſtoit et eſt tel comme ſenſuyt: Aſſavoir que ledit Jeroneme Vento pour et au nom que deſſus, preſtera au dit Scipheer Daniel IIII Livres de gros; parmy toutesfois bonne caution et ſeurté que ledit Schipheer Daniel devra donner audit Jeroneme Vento, de lui rendre et payer la dite ſomme de IIII Livres de gros qu'il lui aura preſtée en dedens les premiers quatre voyaiges que ycelui Schipheer Daniel fera à toute ſa neif, en quelque pays que ce ſoit; aſſurant à chacun voyage une livre de gros, pourvu auſſi que au cas que ledit Schipheer Daniel ne feſiſt aucun voyaige avecque ſa dite neif en dedens ſix mois prochain venant, que alors ledit Scipheer Daniel ou ſes pleſges ſeront tenus de payer et reſtituer au dit Jeroneme Vento, ſans que ledit Jeroneme ſera tenu de attendre les autres payements deſſus nommés. A l'obſervation de la quelle ſentence, ordonnance et arbitraige les dites parties et chacune dicelles ont eſté par la dite plaine chambre d'Eſchevins de Bruges condampnés. Actum XII May, anno 1469.

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3°. *Regiſtre intitulé: " Preſent Wyn, beghinnende den andren dach van Septembre, MCCCCLXVIII."* (*Non paginé. Mois d'Août*, 1469.)

SONDACH XIII. Willem Caxtoen in Ypre te VI. gr. IIII. K (cette lettre K deſigne une meſure de vin.)

Cette dernière mention indique probablement que Guillaume Caxton, s'etant rendu à Ypres, comme gouverneur des marchands d'Angleterre, on lui préſenta le vin d'honneur, ainſi qu'il était d'uſage lorſqu'un perſonnage de quelqu'importance ſe rendait auprès des magiſtrats d'une ville de Flandre.

March 5, 1861.

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LE
CANARD DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE D'ALEXANDRIE.

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Le Canard de la Bibliotheque d'Alexandrie.

TOUS ceux qui s'occupent de littérature en général, et d'hiſtoire en particulier, ſavent combien ſont enracinées dans l'eſprit du public, mille erreurs vulgaires qui courent les livres, et quantité de menſonges hiſtoriques qui finiſſent par devenir des vérités à force d'avoir été écrits et imprimés.

De ce nombre eſt le vandaliſme d'Omar qui aurait fait brûler les livres de la Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie en 650. Pluſieurs auteurs ayant démontré que cette accuſation eſt fauſſe, et même l'allemand Reinart ayant publié à Gœttingue, en 1792, une diſſertation ſpéciale ſur ce ſujet,

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il y avait lieu de croire qu'il n'en ſerait plus queſtion que dans les écoles de village, mais voilà que dans le compte rendu de Mars 1857 des ſéances de l'Académie des Sciences, à Paris, M. le Baron Dupin, organe de l'Académie, apprend gravement au public que: " Omar, le com-
" pagnon de Mahomet, ayant con-
" quis la vallée du Nil, ſon Lieute-
" nant Amrou lui préſenta l'idée
" d'un canal direct de Suez à Peluze,
" mais en conquérant ignare, qui
" brûlait la Bibliothèque d'Alexan-
" drie, cet eſprit borné n'était pas
" fait pour comprendre une auſſi
" grande idée."

Une courte notice, dans un journal bibliographique,* commença par indiquer les nombreuſes erreurs contenues dans ce peu de lignes. D'abord le Kalife Omar ne conquit ja-

* *La Correſpondence Littéraire*, 2e année, No. 4, du 5 février, 1858, page 84.

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mais la vallée du Nil ; enſuite il ne put repouſſer l'idée de la conſtruction d'un canal de Suez à Peluze, par l'excellente raiſon que ce canal exiſtait déjà, enfin il ne brûla pas la Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie, car en fait de livres, tout avait été brulé depuis deux ſiècles et demi.

Pour que ce dernier point ne donne plus lieu même à un doute, réſumons de nouveau les preuves que nous fourniſſent l'hiſtoire, contre l'aſſertion impardonnable d'un membre de l'Académie Françaiſe. On ſait que la célèbre bibliothèque d'Alexandrie fut commencée par Ptolomée Soter. Selon Saint Epiphane, la collection s'éleva juſqu'au nombre de 54,800 volumes. Joſephe dit qu'il y en avait 200,000. Sous les ſucceſſeurs de Ptolomée, elle s'augmenta par degré, juſqu'à 700,000 ; mais par *volumes* il faut entendre des rouleaux beaucoup moins gros et moins remplis que nos volumes.

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Jules Céſar, aſſiégé dans un quartier d'Alexandrie, fit mettre le feu à la flotte qui était dans le port. Le vent porta les flammes plus loin, ce qui cauſa le premier embraſement de cette fameuſe bibliothèque. Plus tard on en forma une nouvelle, mais en 390, ſous Théodoſe, après une lutte ſanglante entre les Païens et les Chrétiens, le bâtiment où elle ſe trouvait, fut détruit de fond en comble, et la collection de volumes pillée et diperſée. Vingt ans plus tard, l'hiſtorien Oroſe s'écriait avec douleur : " Nous avons vu vides les ar-
" moires où étaient les livres qui ont
" été détruits par les hommes de notre
" ſiècle." Reſte maintenant à ſavoir ſi après cette ſeconde deſtruction on forma une troiſième bibliothèque à Alexandrie. Or aucun auteur n'en fait mention, et puis l'hiſtoire prouve que durant la plus grande partie de la période qui s'écoula juſ-

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qu'en 640, époque de la priſe d'Alexandrie par les Arabes, les lettres et la philoſophie furent perſécutées, les collections de livres négligées, que les guerres civiles et étrangères épuisèrent les reſſources de l'empire et ne donnèrent guères le temps de ſonger à former des bibliothèques.

Dans tous les cas, s'il ſe forma une troiſième bibliothèque à Alexandrie, ce que nul auteur ne nous apprend, elle dut être peu conſidérable.

M. Lalanne, dans ſes *Curioſités Bibliographiques*, ſuppoſe avec raiſon que ce qui à pu donner lieu a ce récit c'eſt qu'un auteur arabe du 8e ſiècle, Ebn-Khaldoun, en racontant les conquêtes des provinces de la Perſe par les Muſulmans, dit que le général de ces derniers, Saad, écrivit à Omar pour lui demander la permiſſion de tranſporter les livres, et qu'Omar répondit : " *Jetez les à*

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" *l'eau,** car s'ils ſont d'accord avec " la vérité, Dieu nous a laiſſé mieux " dans le Coran, s'ils contiennent " l'erreur, on ne doit point les con- " ſerver." Maintenant qui a le premier fait mention de l'incendie de la Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie, avec des circonſtances toutes ſemblables? ce ſont deux médecins et hiſtoriens arabes, l'un mort en 1231, l'autre mort en 1286,† c'eſt à dire, ſix ſiècles après l'évènement. Or durant ces ſix ſiècles comment expliquer qu'aucun auteur n'ait jamais même fait alluſion à un fait auſſi important et auſſi remarquable, entr'autres Eutychius hiſtorien de la fin du 9ᵉ ſiècle, qui nous a laiſſé une relation détaillée de la priſe d'Alexandrie?

Il eſt plus naturel de ſuppoſer que

* *Relation de l'Egypte* par Abd-Allatif, traduit par M. de Sacy, 1810, en quarto.

† Voir Magaſin Encyclopédique, 5ᵉ année, t. 4, p. 438.

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les deux auteurs qui inventèrent l'incendie de cette bibliothèque, ayant trouvé un fait analogue dans une hiſtoire du 8ᵉ ſiècle, l'ont adaptée à une autre circonſtance, comme on ſait que cela arriva très fréquemment aux chroniqueurs du moyen âge.

Quelqu'orateur parlementaire, ou quelqu'académicien indiſcrets nous fournira peut-être un de ces jours l'occaſion de revenir ſur d'autres Canards hiſtoriques bien démontrés, tels que ceux du paſſage des Thermopyles, des Horaces et Curiaces, du Coloſſe de Rhodes, de Guillaume Tell, et une foule d'autres.

Peut-être ne ſera-t-il pas hors de propos, en terminant, de rappeler l'origine du mot *Canard*, dans le ſens où nous l'avons employé, origine que quelques uns croient moderne. Déjà en 1632, Cotgrave, dans ſon dictionnaire Français-Anglais, cite le proverbe : *Grace de Sainct Canart*,

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qu'il explique par " the beſtowing of " a thing which the beſtower cannot " keep." * Probablement que Cotgrave avait trouvé ce ſens du mot dans le *Grand Dictionnaire des Rimes Françoiſes*, par Lanoue, publié environ dix ans auparavant, et qui définit un bailleur de balivernes, ou de folie et de bourdes : *vendeur de canars à moitié*.

M. Franciſque Michel, dans ſon *Dictionnaire d'Argot*, cite les quatre vers ſuivants d'une comédie, publiée en 1612, (*Recueil des plus Excellents Ballets de ce Temps*), pour montrer combien était fréquent l'emploi de ce mot.

Pargnieu ! vous ſerez mis en cage
Vous eſtes un *bailleur de canars* ;
J' avons fait changer de langage
Au moins à d'auſſi fins renars.

Il eſt aſſez curieux d'obſerver

* Aux mots *Bailler* des canards, et *Bailleur* de canards, il traduit ces dictons par *to couſin, to beguile, conicatch, a couſening Jack, a deceiver, a conicatcher.*

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qu'aucun des nombreux auteurs qui, dans ces derniers temps, ont écrit ſur les proverbes et les dictons populaires, n'ait donné la raiſon pour laquelle cette Métonymie avait été introduite. Si déjà dès le 16e ſiècle, on n'avait pas employé le mot *canard* dans le ſens de mentir, on pourrait accepter l'étymologie donnée par M. le Baron de Reiffenberg, dans l'*Annuaire de la Bibliothèque de Belgique*, 1850, p. 28, qui, en parlant de Norbert Corneliſſen, raconte le fait ſuivant : " Un jour il publia qu'on ve-
" nait de faire une expérience inté-
" reſſante bien propre à conſtater
" l'étonnante voracité des canards.
" On avait, écrit-il, réuni vingt de
" ces volatiles ; l'un d'eux avait été
" haché, même avec ſes plumes, et
" ſervi au dix-neuf autres, qui en
" avaient avalé gloutonnement les
" débris. L'un de ces derniers à ſon
" tour avait ſervi de pâture aux dix-

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" huit ſuivants et ainſi de ſuite juſ-
" qu'au dernier, qui ſe trouvait par
" le fait avoir dévoré ſes dix-neuf
" confrères, dans un temps déter-
" miné très court. Cette petite hiſ-
" toire," ajoute M. de Reiffenberg,
" fut répétée de proche en proche par
" tous les journaux et fit le tour de
" l'Europe. Elle était à peu près ou-
" bliée depuis une vingtaine d'années
" lorſqu'elle nous revint d'Amérique,
" avec tous les développements qu'elle
" n'avait point dans ſon origine. On
" finit par rire de l'hiſtoire du *canard*,
" mais le mot reſta."

Nous avons vu que cette acception du mot remonte bien plus haut. De plus, et bien malheureuſement pour M. de Reiffenberg, cette anecdote qu'il ſuppoſe de l'invention de Norbert Corneliſſen, n'eſt qu'une contrefaçon ou plutôt une imitation d'une hiſtoriette plus ancienne déjà publiée vers le fin du ſiècle dernier, ſous le

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titre de : *Le canard qui mange cinq de ſes frères et qui eſt mangé à ſon tour par le Colonel.*

M. Edouard Fournier a inſéré cette pièce dans le 7e volume de ſes *Variétés hiſtoriques et littéraires*, Paris, Jannet, 1857.

A l'exception du nombre des canards, c'eſt la même hiſtoire.

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NOTICES OF LIBRARIES.

BY BERIAH BOTFIELD,

M.A. F.R.S.

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THE HUNTERIAN MUSEUM AT GLASGOW.

THE name of Hunter is familiarly known as connected with the medical profeſſion, and the fame of John Hunter, as a ſurgeon, has eclipſed that of his elder brother William. To the latter belongs the reputation of a good ſcholar, and a correct writer, as well as the no leſs enviable reputation of a book collector. His library, after paſſing through the hands of Dr. Baillie, was finally conſigned by him to the Univerſity of Glaſgow, and now forms the chief ornament of that venerable ſeat of learning. Living

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through the greater part of the eighteenth century, William Hunter enjoyed great facilities for the acquiſition of rarities which now but ſeldom occur. His provident care for the maintenance and augmentation of his library ſhowed itſelf in the munificent endowment of 8000*l.* which accompanied its transfer to the Univerſity of Glaſgow.

The beſt account I can give of the Hunterian collection will be found in the notes made at the time when the books were open before me.

My firſt object was the Harleian copy of the firſt edition of Plato, by Aldus, 1513, folio, printed upon vellum. This copy has a manuſcript note in the hand-writing of Dr. Aſkew, ſigned with his initials. It is bound in two volumes, of which the firſt contains 502 pages, and meaſures 12 inches by $7\frac{3}{4}$, and the ſecond, 440 pages, its ſize being 12

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inches by $7\frac{5}{8}$, both are foxy in parts, and are bound in blue morocco, with gilt and marbled edges.

The ſecond edition of Cicero's Offices, printed by Fuſt and Schoiffer, in 1466, folio, alſo upon vellum, is quite perfect. It has the book-plate of "Philip Carteret Webb." Incloſed is a ſpecimen of "the print, and one page of the block letter preſs of the Donatus now in M. Meerman's poſſeſſion." This copy is $10\frac{1}{8}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$, in red morocco.

The ſecond edition of Bonifacii Papæ VIII. Liber Sextus Decretalium, printed at Mayence, in 1473, by Peter Schoyffer, folio, exiſts here upon vellum, with a manuſcript index on the firſt leaf. It meaſures $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $10\frac{7}{8}$, and is bound in red morocco.

The well-known Tewrdannchs of Melchior Pfintzing, upon vellum, printed at Nuremberg, in 1517, folio, has the cuts uncoloured, and is bound

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in red morocco, meaſuring 14⅛ by 9 inches.

Among the block-books I noticed 23 leaves of the Biblia Pauperum, in ruſſia, and Sancti Joannis Apocalypſis, in 42 leaves, the impreſſions coloured, bound in ruſſia.

The Biblia Latina, Moguntiæ per Petrum Schoiffer de Gernſheym, 1472, folio, is in two volumes, in red morocco, meaſuring 16 inches by 11⅛.

The Milan Pſalter of 1481, folio, was, in 1743, the property of Cæſar de Miſſy, it meaſures 11¼ by 8¼.

The Hunterian collection is rich in the productions of the firſt Engliſh printer, William Caxton. The book called Cathon, printed by him, in 1483, folio, is perfect and clean. It meaſures 10⅜ by 7⅝, and is in red morocco.

The Chronicles of Englande, 1480, folio, are imperfect and torn, a ſorry copy, meaſuring 8⅝ by 7⅛, in calf.

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Godefroy of Boulogne, 1481, folio, wants the firſt leaf, and is much ſcribbled on; a poor copy, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 inches, in red morocco.

The Lyf of our Ladye is perfect from a 1, to the end, meaſuring $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches, in red morocco.

The Four Laſt Things, 1480, folio, are quite perfect; this copy is $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{3}{8}$, in red morocco.

The Golden Legende of 1483, folio, is a fine large and perfect copy, $14\frac{3}{4}$ by 10 inches, in rough calf, backed with red morocco.

The Myrrour of the Worlde, 1481, folio, is quite perfect, meaſuring $9\frac{1}{8}$ by 7 inches. It is bound in red morocco.

The Lyf of Chriſte, without date, meaſures 10 inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$, and is bound in calf.

The Polychronicon of 1482, folio, is a fine copy, $10\frac{7}{8}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$, but has the 9 firſt leaves of the Proheme

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and the Table ſupplied by MS., and wants the whole of the laſt leaf and half of the laſt leaf but one. It is bound in red morocco.

The Chaſtyſing of God's Children, is perfect, meaſuring 10½ by 7⅜, and is bound in red morocco.

The Æneydos of Virgil, 1490, folio, one of the lateſt of Caxton's productions, wants the laſt leaf, which has been ſupplied in MS. It meaſures 10⅞ by 8 inches, and is in calf.

Hylton's Scala Perfectionis, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1494, folio, is perfect, meaſuring 11¼ by 8 inches, and is bound in red morocco.

Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, printed by Pynſon, June 4, 1526, unfortunately ends at folio ciii. The copy is 10⅜ by 7¼ inches, in red morocco.

The Anthologia Græca, printed in capital letters, in 1494, has the letter reprinted. It meaſures 8¾ by 6 inches, in red morocco.

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The firſt editions of the Claſſical Authors which particularly attracted my attention were the Apollonius Rhodius, alſo in capital letters, Florence, 1496. This copy meaſures $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{5}{8}$, bound in calf, in a brocaded cover of red ſilk.

The Apuleius, printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, at Rome, in 1469, folio, is perfect. It meaſures $13\frac{1}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{8}$, and is bound in red morocco.

The Aldine Ariſtophanes of 1499, folio, meaſures $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$, and is bound in ruſſia.

The Aldine Ariſtotle is bound in ſix volumes in the French ſtyle of red morocco, meaſuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$.

The Cæſar of 1469, folio, has the Table at the end, it meaſures $12\frac{7}{8}$ by $8\frac{7}{8}$, and is in red morocco.

Auſonius and Calphurnius, only printed at Venice, "one of the rareſt

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of rare books,"* meaſuring 11 inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$, is bound in calf.

The ſecond edition of Aulus Gellius, printed by Jenſon, in 1472, folio, is quite eclipſed by a beautiful copy, quite perfect, of the very rare firſt editions of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius, 1472, folio, meaſuring $10\frac{7}{8}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$, and bound in red morocco.

The firſt edition of Celſus de Medicinâ, printed at Florence, in 1478, folio, meaſures $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 8 inches, and is bound in red morocco.

There is a fine crackling copy which belonged to Dr. Aſkew of the firſt Claſſic ever printed, namely, Cicero's Offices, from the preſs of Fuſt and Schoiffer at Mentz, in 1465, folio. It meaſures $9\frac{7}{8}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, in red morocco.

The firſt edition of Claudian from the Vicenza preſs, in 1482, folio, meaſures $11\frac{3}{4}$ by 8 inches, and is in red morocco.

* Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica.

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The Aldine Euripides of February, 1503, meaſures $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{7}{8}$. It has been ſcribbled on, and is in blue morocco.

The Eutropius, printed at Rome in May, 1741, meaſures $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{8}$, and is in red morocco.

The firſt edition of Homer, printed at Florence, in 1488, has the capitals illuminated, but has been written on, and the firſt leaf is foxy. It is bound in two volumes, meaſuring $12\frac{1}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$, in blue morocco.

The Batrachomyomachia, printed in alternate lines of red and black at Venice, in April, 1486, quarto, meaſures $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{8}$, in red morocco. On the fly-leaf is written, "Lord Oxford "offered Maittaire 50 guineas for this "copy."

The firſt edition of Macrobius printed by Jenſon, at Venice, in 1472, folio, meaſures $12\frac{3}{8}$ by $8\frac{3}{4}$, and is in blue morocco.

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The Lucian of 1496, folio, meaſures 12¼ by 8¾, and is in red morocco.

There is a very fine copy of the Livy, printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz at Rome, meaſuring 16 inches by 11¼, in red morocco.

Unfortunately the firſt volume only, containing the Metamorphoſes, of the Azzoguidi Ovid is found here. It meaſures 12¼ by 8¾, and is in a vellum cover.

The Aldine Thucydides of May, 1502, folio, meaſures 12⅝ by 8¼, and is in ſtamped calf.

There is a beautiful copy of the Pliny of 1469, by John de Spira, folio, with the initials illuminated at the beginning, meaſuring 17 inches by 11¼, in ruſſia.

The Priſcian printed by Vindelin de Spira, in 1470, folio, meaſures 12⅛ by 8¾, and is in red morocco.

The Salluſt of 1470, by the ſame

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Venetian printer, meaſures 10⅝ by 7½, in vellum cover.

The Aldine Pauſanias of 1516, folio, meaſures 12¼ by 8¾. It is in red morocco.

The edition of Valerius Maximus, printed by Peter Schoyffer at Mentz, in 1471, folio, meaſures 11⅛ by 7¾, in red morocco.

The Aldine Strabo of November, 1516, folio, meaſures 11⅞ by 8 inches, in calf.

The rare editio princeps of Plautus, the joint production of John de Colonia and Vindelin de Spira at Venice, in 1472, folio, meaſures 12¼ by 9 inches. It is bound in blue, with linings of yellow morocco.

The firſt collected edition of the Works of Tacitus, printed, under the auſpices of Leo X, at Rome, in 1515, folio, meaſures 12 inches by 8⅝. It is foxed, and bound in blue morocco.

The Aldine Galen of 1525, in five

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volumes, folio, meaſures 13 inches by $8\frac{7}{8}$, in red morocco.

The firſt Greek Bible printed by Aldus, in 1518, folio, is a very fine copy, meaſuring $12\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{5}{8}$. It is bound in red morocco.

The Aldine Oratores Græci of May, 1513, folio, are bound in one volume, in red morocco, its ſize being $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$.

It only remains for me to notice the firſt edition of Shakeſpeare, 1682, folio, with the original portrait, in ruſſia, and the firſt edition of Lydgate's Hiſtorye, Sege and Deſtrucyon of Troye, printed by Pynſon, in 1513, folio.

Purchas his Pilgrimes, printed in 1625-6, bound in four volumes in calf, and 39 Plates of the privately printed Devonſhire Gems, may conclude this notice of the rare books contained in the Hunterian Muſeum.

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ETON COLLEGE LIBRARY.

"THE College Roiall of our Ladie of Eton beſide Windeſor," is better known as a place of education than for its choice and curious collection of books. A few rough notes, haſtily taken ſome years ago, may find a place in the Philobiblon Miſcellany.

The firſt object that attracted my notice was Caxton's Jaſon, a beautiful and perfect copy with rough leaves, meaſuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $7\frac{3}{8}$, in blue morocco. Dibdin, in his viſit to the Eton College Library, Bibl. Decam. iii. 429, deſcribes "the French "Jaſon in the types of Caxton, a large, "clean, and genuine folio tome, (of "which the only other known copy "is in the King's Library at Paris)"

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as "the very pink κειμηλιον, or golden "fleece of the Storer Library," incorporated with the Etonian collection.

There is a very fine and perfect copy of Caxton's editions of Tully on Old Age and de Amicitiâ, printed in 1481, measuring 11⅜ by 8 inches, in blue morocco.

Reynard the Foxe, printed by Caxton, in 1481, folio, is ruled with red lines, has the first leaf supplied by the hand, and the second inlaid. It measures 10¾ by 7¾ inches, and is in blue morocco.

I noticed the first, second, and third editions of Shakespeare. The first edition of the Plays wants the preliminary verses, but it measures 12⅝ by 8¼ inches, and is bound in maroon morocco.

The works of the Classical Authors embrace many first editions. Of these it may suffice to enumerate:—

The Aristophanes, printed by

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Aldus, in 1499, folio, meaſuring 12 inches by 8, bound in red morocco.

The Florentine Homer of 1488, ruled with red lines, in two volumes, $12\frac{7}{8}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in maroon morocco.

The Aldine Plato of 1513, meaſuring $11\frac{7}{8}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in red morocco.

The Aldine Æſchylus of 1518, the Euripides of 1503, and Plautus of 1522, the laſt very fine.

Cornelius Nepos, printed by Jenſon, in 1471, meaſuring $10\frac{7}{8}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, in blue morocco.

Macrobius of 1472, by the ſame printer, curiouſly illuminated, and meaſuring $12\frac{7}{8}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, in red morocco.

The Apollonius Rhodius, printed in capital letters at Florence, in 1494, meaſuring $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, in red morocco.

The Anthologia Græca, alſo in

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capitals, but with the letter reprinted, measuring 8½ by 6 inches, in red morocco.

There are many books bound by the celebrated Roger Payne, in bright and beautiful condition, many illustrated works, a beautiful copy of De Thou, in red morocco, and the Numismata Pembrochiana, on large paper.

The Aldine Greek Bible of 1518, measuring 13 inches by 8¼, in calf.

The Ximenes Polyglott, 14½ by 10¼, in red morocco.

The value of this interesting collection has been still further enhanced by the gift of the earliest impression of Holy Writ, from a well-known Alumnus of Eton. This beautiful copy of the Mazarine Bible has retained its genuine monastic habit. It has been rubricated and illuminated with great care, and happily remains as fresh and sound as

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when it firſt iſſued from the preſs. Of this noble work the firſt volume contains 276 leaves, meaſuring 15¾ by 11½ inches. It bears on its upper ſide the original vellum label, inſcribed in a Gothic hand, "Prima Pars Biblie." The ſecond volume compriſes 367 leaves, meaſuring 15¾ by nearly 11⅝ inches. It has loſt its vellum label. Both volumes retain their original covers of ſtout boards of oak, covered with hog-ſkin, curiouſly ſtamped with various mottoes and devices, and having prominent boſſes and corners of braſs on their ſides. Theſe precious volumes, we are informed by an autograph memorandum, were "Given to Eton College Library by John Fuller, Eſq., of Roſehill, in the county of Suſſex, who formerly repreſented that county in Parliament."

They were obtained from Meſſrs. Payne and Foſs, and have been ſub-

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ſequently placed in an oaken caſe, bearing a braſs plate lettered,—

"BIBLIA SACRA, MCCCCLV."

of which the Provoſt and Fellows religiouſly keep the key as the appointed guardians of theſe ſacred precincts where

> "Grateful Science ſtill adores
> Her Henry's holy ſhade."[1]

[1] Gray's Ode to Eton College.

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SION COLLEGE LIBRARY.

THE members of the Philobiblon Society are doubtleſs familiar with the old folio containing "Biblothecæ Cleri Londinenſis in Collegio Sionenſi Catalogus duplici formâ concinnatus, Londini, 1724," yet may nevertheleſs like to know the Book-rarities which exiſt in that unfrequented ſpot. Founded in Puritanical times, the ſhelves of this Library groan under the weight of controverſial divinity, and the additions which have been ſubſequently made to this collection are entered in an interleaved copy of the above catalogue, though ſuperſeded by a new alphabetical catalogue.

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The moſt intereſting volume to the Engliſh collector is Caxton's Recueil, in Engliſh, of 1471, which was the gift of Matthew Forſter, ſon of Captain Matthew Forſter, merchant and vintner of London, in 1646, which is atteſted by the following inſcription, "Matth. filius Ducis Matth fforſter donavit, 1646." It meaſures $10\frac{3}{8}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and has been rebound in calf. This copy is much ſtained at top throughout, it wants the firſt and the laſt leaf, the ſecond leaf having been pieced, ending with "Amen for Charyte."

Scarcely inferior in intereſt, and greatly ſuperior in itſelf, is Coverdale's Bible of 1535, dedicated to "Queen Jane Seymour," though it wants the title and leaves xii. and xiii. and only half the Map remains. Its preſentation is thus recorded by the donor, "Robertus Lovel Eccleſiæ dictæ Allhallowes Barking, Lon-

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don, curatus, volumen hoc ſacrum Bibliothecæ huic Sionenſi donavit. MDCCXXX." It meaſures 12⅛ by 7⅝ inches, and is bound in calf.

Of ſtill greater rarity is the Pentateuch, tranſlated by William Tyndale, printed at Malborow, in the land of Heſſe, by Hans Luft; but the preſent copy wants the whole of Deuteronomy, and has had the marginal notes cut off, as directed by Act of Parliament in 1545. It was preſented by Mr. Lewis.

There is alſo an imperfect copy of Grafton's Bible of 1540-41, folio.

The Bible printed at London by J. Whitchurche, 1541, folio.

Matthew's Bible of 1549, reprinted from the edition of 1537, with ſome alterations, and publiſhed by Edmund Becke, folio.

The New Teſtament with the paraphraſe of Eraſmus, 1551, folio.

The New Teſtament from the

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Latin of Theodore Beza, engliſhed by L. Tomſon, 1576, octavo. "The firſt edition of this tranſlation, which afterwards was frequently attached to the Genevan Bible, being ſubſtituted for that which appears in the editions previous to that year."[1]

The Epiſtle to the Galatians, with Luther's Commentary, London, 1577, quarto.

Deuteronomy, with Calvin's Commentary, tranſlated by A. Golding, London, 1583, folio.

The Goſpels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, in an harmony, by Calvin, London, 1584, quarto; and the Goſpel of St. John, with his Commentary of the ſame year, alſo in quarto.

The Biſhops' Bible, printed at London, by Chriſtopher Barker, in

[1] Cotton's Liſt of Editions of the Bible, 1821, page 19.

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1585, folio, and by his deputies in 1591, alſo in folio.

The New Teſtament, in Engliſh and eleven other Languages, by Elias Hutter, Nuremberg, 1599, folio.

Iſaiah, with Calvin's Commentary, tranſlated by C. Cotton, London, 1609, folio.

The Genevan Bible, London, R. Barker, 1611, folio.

The Rhemiſh New Teſtament, London, 1633, folio.

The Douay Rhemiſh Bible, Rouen, by John Couſturier, 1635, quarto, in 2 vols.

The Five Books of Moſes, the Pſalms and Canticles, by H. Ainſworth, London, 1639, folio.

Job, with an Expoſition by S. Caryl, London, 1676-7, folio, 2 vols.

The Canticles paraphraſed by Woodford, London, 1679, octavo.

The Hymns and Songs of the

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Church, by George Wither, London, 1623, folio.

To this copious list may be added a fine sound copy of the Complutensian Polyglott of 1514-17, measuring $14\frac{3}{4}$ by $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches, indifferently bound in 5 volumes, in modern calf.

The Plantin Polyglott, printed at Antwerp, in 1569-72, in 8 volumes, folio.

A fine copy of Le Jay's Polyglott, printed at Paris, in 1628-45, in 10 volumes, folio.

Biblia Hebraica, Bomberg, 1547-9, 2 volumes, folio; and the Vetus Testamentum Græcum, cum præfatione, P. Morini, Romæ, Fr. Zanetti, 1586, folio.

I proceed to notice a Polyglott Psalter, remarkable as being the first in which each language is printed in its proper characters. I give the title, which is surrounded by a wood border:—Psalterium hebreum, gre-

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cum, arabicum, et chaldeum cum tribus latinis interpretationibus et gloſſis; and ſubjoin the colophon:—

"Impreſſit miro ingenio Petrus Paulus Porrus, genuæ in ædibus Nicolai Juſtiniani Pauli præſidente reipub. genuenſi pro Sereniſſimo Francorum Rege præſtanti viro Octaviano Fulgoſo anno chriſtiane ſalutis milleſimo quingenteſimo ſextodecimo menſe VIIIIbri."

On the recto of the laſt leaf is the regiſter and device of the printer, under which is written—"Petrus Paulus Porrus Mediolanenſis Taurini degens." The book is in quarto, meaſuring 12½ by 9 inches, and is in old calf, rebacked. It was "the gift of the Rev. William Wilkins, Miniſter of St. Andrew Hubbard.

The large addition of 357 volumes, conſiſting of works on divinity and ſingle ſermons, is deſcribed in a ſpecial "Catalogue of Pamphlets, bound in ſeveral volumes, collected by the Right Reverend Edmund Gibſon,

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Lord Biſhop of London; depoſited in Sion College Library in May, 1798, by the Executors of the Rev^d. Edmund Gibſon, M. A., late Rector of St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, and in April, 1799, given by him to the ſaid Library."

I will conclude this account by noticing a fine large and genuine copy of the firſt Edition of Lucian, printed at Florence, in 1496, folio. It has not the title ſometimes prefixed, and it has been written on by an ancient hand in many places. It meaſures $12\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and is bound in old calf, with a device of a bird on the ſides.

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LIBRARY AT BAMBOROUGH CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND.

Mr. King, in his Obſervations on Ancient Caſtles, ſays that Bamborough Caſtle in Northumberland was built very much on the ſame plan with Dover Caſtle, and about the ſame time.[1] After the Norman Conqueſt it was Robert de Mowbray's, who was beſieged there by William Rufus, and obliged to ſurrender. During the Wars of the Roſes it ſuſtained repeated attacks, and was taken by Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI, on her return from France, and at length became dilapidated in the reign of Henry VII. The Caſtle

[1] Archæologia, iv. 393.

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and Manor were granted by James II. to John Foſter, whoſe deſcendant having eſpouſed the cauſe of the Pretender, they were confiſcated to the crown, and were purchaſed by his relative, Lord Crewe, Biſhop of Durham. This noble prelate deviſed this eſtate to truſtees for charitable purpoſes, of which the principal object was to reſcue life from the ſea, and to afford aſſiſtance to ſhipwrecked mariners, for which its commanding ſituation on a dangerous coaſt, and a tempeſtuous ſea, is admirably adapted. Lord Crewe did more than this in providing for the ſpiritual and ſecular inſtruction of the poor children of the pariſh. In 1778 the truſtees of his Will founded a library in the Caſtle, to which the late Dr. Sharp bequeathed the whole of his valuable collection of books, including the greater part of the library of Dr. Sharp, Archbiſhop of York. This collection, of which a

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catalogue has been printed, includes about four thouſand volumes, and is open to perſons reſiding in the neighbourhood under certain regulations. My object in viſiting Bamborough Caſtle was to ſee the famous work of—

John Lydgate. The Troye book, or the Sege and Deſtrucyon of Troye. London, by Richard Pynſon, 1513, folio. Printed upon vellum.

The colophon whereof runneth thus:—

> " Here endeth the Troye booke otherwyſe called the Sege of Troye, tranſlated by John Lydgate, monke of the Monaſtery of Bery, and Emprynted the yere of oure Lorde a.m. ccccc. xiii by Richard Pynſon, prynter unto the kyngs noble grace."

The vellum on which this book is printed, in double columns of Gothic letter, is very pure and fine. On the firſt leaf, in the handwriting of ſome former poſſeſſor, is this note:—

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"The 7th day of Januarie 1598. 38th Ed. reg. S. F. F. Woolfe pretius. 21s."

The preſent copy meaſures 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ by 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and is bound in old calf, ſtamped with gold on the ſides, and lettered "Lydgate."

On the inſide of one of the tattered covers is the book-plate of "T. Sharp, Prebendary of Durham, and Archdeacon of Northumberland."

The preſent copy is fortunately quite perfect, however imperfectly deſcribed—"Lydgate; Troybook or Siege of Troy, printed upon vellum, by *Robert* Pynſon, 1513. E. 69"—in the Catalogue of the Library at Bamborough Caſtle, in the county of Northumberland, publiſhed by order of the truſtees of the eſtates of the Right Honourable Nathaniel late Lord Crewe, and Lord Biſhop of Durham. Printed at Durham, by L. Pennington, without date, in quarto.

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LIBRARY OF THE FACULTY
OF ADVOCATES, EDINBURGH.

THE Advocates' Library was founded by Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate of Scotland, in the reign of Charles the Second. It contains about two hundred thouſand volumes, excluſive of an extenſive collection of manuſcripts on the hiſtory and antiquities of Scotland. The notes which I made at the time of my viſit were directed chiefly to early printed books, and firſt of all to—

The Mazarine Bible, on paper. Vol. I. contains 324 leaves, ſo numbered by the rubricator, but fol. 121 is repeated and folio 249 omitted, which does not alter the total. The

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reverſe of folios 244 (numbered 245) and 260 are blank. The columns of and up to the fifth leaf contain 40, thoſe of the ſixth and ſubſequent leaves 42, lines each. On the recto of the firſt leaf we read thus, in red ink:—

"Incipit epiſtola ſancti iheronomi ad paulinum preſbiterum de omnibus divine hiſtorie libris capitulũ p̃m̃ũ."

Then follows the text, a monk writing forming the ſubject of the illuminated capital, commencing with—

"Frater Ambroſius," &c. &c.

This volume contains the books from Geneſis to the Pſalms incluſive, and ends on the firſt column on the reverſe of the laſt leaf thus:—

"laudet dn̄m, Alla."

On the fly-leaf of this volume, which meaſures $14\frac{7}{8}$, inches by $10\frac{7}{8}$

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inches, is an extract from Wurdtwein's Bibliotheca Moguntina, p. 53, and the Bibliographie Inſtructive of De Bure, No. 25, in the hand-writing of David Steuart, dated "Edinburg, 3 Kal. Oct. 1796," ſucceeded by the following notice. After a recital of the water-marks by De Bure, Mr. Steuart adds:—

"L'on trouvera toutes ces marques dans le papier de ce tome, a ſavoir:—

"La tête de bœuf ſurmonte d'un baton dans le folio 2.

"La figure du petit bœuf, dans le folio 139.

"La Grappe de Raiſin dans le folio 210.

"La Tête de Bœuf ſimple dans le folio 306.

"Il y en a auſſi ſans marque, choſe a laquelle M. de Bure n'a pas fait attention.

"David Steuart."

The margins have been written upon, and the leaves waſhed in order to efface theſe marks. Many initials are illuminated in gold and colours, but ſome of the ſmaller are blank.

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Vol. II. contains 317 leaves, ſo numbered in red ink, as in the preceding volume.

This volume commences in this manner:—

"Incipit prologus ſancti ieronimi preſbiteri in parabolas ſalomonis, ungat epiſtola quos jungit ſacerdotium," &c. &c. &c.

The two firſt lines being in red, and the reſt in black ink.

This volume includes the remainder of the ſacred Text from the "Parabola Salomonis," to the "Apocalipſis," and ends at the bottom of the ſecond column of the laſt page thus:—"Explicit Apocalipſis," in red ink.

The reverſe of folios 189 and 309 are blank; but the volume is rubricated and illuminated throughout with the exception of ſome of the ſmaller initials. It meaſures nearly 14⅓ inches, by almoſt 10⅛ inches, ſo that it appears to have ſuffered

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more from the trenchant ſteel of the binder than its elder brother.

This volume, like the preceding, has been written upon in the margin, and waſhed in order to efface the writing. Both have been ſeverely treated by the binder, the running title added to the top of the page by the rubricator being in many inſtances cut off by his ruthleſs hand. The illuminated ornaments of theſe precious tomes are in a very rude ſtyle of art, encouraging the conjecture that they may have been done in Scotland.[1] Both volumes are bound in red ruſſia, ſcored all over with oblique lines, and covered with gilt tooling on the back and ſides. The lettering runs:—

"Biblia Sacra per Gutenberg et Fuſt, circa 1450."

[1] The Converſion of St. Paul occupying a large initial, the recto of folio 262, is a favourable ſpecimen of the artiſt's manner.

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Theſe volumes have been ſubſequently encloſed in caſes of blue morocco, lined with green baize, and ſecured by a lock and key, bearing the ſimple lettering of—

"Biblia Sacra, circa, 1450."

I next noticed the—

Breviarium Latinum, Venetiis, per Nicolaum Jenſon, 1478, folio. In Pergamena.

This beautiful ſpecimen of Jenſonian ſkill is preceded by a Kalendar of five leaves, the reverſe of the laſt being blank. A blank leaf follows. Then the firſt leaf, beautifully illuminated in gold and colours, of the Breviary itſelf.

The colophon in red ink runneth thus, on the recto of the laſt leaf in the volume:—

"N ui⁹ opus corrector extitit Georgi⁹
ſpathariis pſbytors minim⁹ ip̃ſſor
vero Nicolaus ienſon gallicus. hac nr̃a

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tẽpeſtate impſſorum prĩceps Qd qde põ
ti max rome Petri ſede regẽte Andrea
vẽdramino ĩclyto principe venetiis pri
cipante."

The laſt leaf of the book is blank. This volume meaſures 13⅝ by 9⅝, and is in excellent preſervation. Its binding is, however, modern, of red morocco, with bright red morocco lining, and fly-leaves, expoſing the rough ſide of the leather.

Another moſt remarkable object was—

The new Actis and Conſtitutionis of Parliament, maid be the Rycht Excellent Prince James the Fift Kyng of Scottis, 1540, folio.

Beneath this title is a woodcut of the Arms of Scotland, the ſame as that uſed in the Boece by the ſame printer. This volume conſiſts of twenty-ſeven leaves, all regularly numbered, and incluſive of the title.

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At the foot of the recto of folio 27, and laſt, we read the following lines:—

"EDINBVRGI. ex ædibus Thomæ Davidſon regii impreſſoris cum Privilegio."

On the reverſe of the laſt leaf appears the ſame woodcut as at the concluſion of the Boece. Beneath which we read the following colophon:—

"Imprentit in Edinburgh be Thomas Davidſon dwelling above the nether bow on the north ſyde of the gait the aucht day of Februarii the zeir of god, 1542, zeris."

This volume, which is printed in Gothic characters upon vellum, meaſures 11 by 8 inches, and is bound in mottled calf. From a manuſcript note on the margin of the reverſe of folio 19, it appears to have belonged to Samuel Moriſon of Maiſon Dieu, in 1642, and, from the price marked

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on the fly-leaf, to have coſt the Library, "pr: 1: 10: 6."

I may here mention—

Higden's Polychronicon. Printed by Caxton, 1482, folio.

Golagrus and Gawaine, with other Poems, the firſt book printed in Scotland by Walter Chapman and Andro Hart. Inlaid and bound in ruſſia by Hering, but a few leaves are wanting here and there.

The Aberdeen Breviary, an imperfect copy.

Among the MSS. I noticed—

The Dunfermline copy of the Vulgate Bible.

The Auchinleck MSS., conſiſting of old Romances, &c. valued at 5000*l.*

The MS. of Martial, deſcribed by Dalyell.

To this may be added—

Dalyell's Tract on the Monaſtic Antiquities of Dunfermline. Edinburgh, 1809, octavo.

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Printed upon vellum, but cruelly cropt by the artificer of its clumſy ruſſia ſurtout. Another copy, alſo upon vellum, is in my own library at Norton Hall; and a third ſimilar copy, bound in ruſſia, and much cropt, was in the poſſeſſion of Mr. David Laing, at Edinburgh.

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LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

The Univerſity Library was originally founded by the Town Council of Edinburgh, to whom Mary, Queen of Scots, granted, for that purpoſe, the ſites and revenues of ſeveral religious houſes within the city. The gift was confirmed and augmented by James VI. The affairs of the Univerſity are under the ſuperintendence of the Town Council. The preſent ſtructure was commenced in 1789, on the original ſite, and completed in 1820. The library is 187 feet in length and 50 feet in width. The roof, richly embelliſhed, is ſupported

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by pillars, behind which are receſſes for the books. The collection was originally bequeathed by Mr. Clement Little, Advocate, to the care of the Town Council, for the uſe of the citizens, and by that body depoſited in the Univerſity. It has been ſo largely augmented by purchaſes and donations, and by its being one of the privileged libraries, that it now contains upwards of a hundred thouſand volumes. Of theſe the moſt remarkable is—

The Hiſtory and Chronicles of Scotland, compiled by Hector Boece, Canon of Aberdeen, and tranſlated by John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray. Printed at Edinburgh, by Thomas Davidſon, without date, in folio.

Printed upon vellum, in double columns, of the Gothic character. On the recto of the firſt leaf we read the following title:—

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" Heir beginnis the hyſtory and croniklis of Scotland."

Beneath which is the large wood-cut of the Arms of Scotland, repeated in the Acts of Parliament by the ſame printer. Then follow twenty-three leaves full of prefatory matter; ſucceeded by twenty leaves of the " Tabula." The Index of the " Kingis names" occupies the following leaves, and the Proheme of the Hiſtory the three next leaves. The Hiſtory itſelf then commences, occupying 102 leaves, all regularly numbered from fol. I. to LLI. incluſive. On the recto of the laſt leaf the following colophon appears at the bottom of the page, thus:—

" Heir endis the hyſtory and
" Croniklis of Scotland with the Coſmography
& deſcription thairof
" Compilit by the noble clerk maiſter Hector
Boece Channon of Aber-
" dene Tranſlated laitly in our vulgar and
common langage, be

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" maiſter Johne Bellenden Archedene of Murray, and Im-
" prentit in Edinburgh, be me Thomas Davidſon
" prenter to the Kyngis nobyll grace.

" CVM PRIVILEGIO "

On the reverſe of this laſt leaf appears the ſame woodcut that was placed by the ſame printer at the ends of the Acts of Parliament of Scotland, in 1542.

The preſent copy is preſerved in its original calf-covered boards, ſecured by braſs knobs and bands. In the upper margin of the firſt leaf we read the following manuſcript inſcription:—

" Thomas Willſon Mercator me Bibliothecæ Edinburgenæ Dono Dedit. Año. Dom. 1669."

This volume, executed on very pure vellum, meaſures 11½ inches by 8⅛ inches.

Another ſimilar copy is in the Li-

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brary of the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace, and a third copy upon vellum is in the Library of the Counteſs of Dyſart, at Ham Houſe, near Richmond on the Thames.

I alſo noticed—

Homerus, Florentiæ, 1488, folio. In two vols. Editio Princeps. 12⅝ by 8⅝, in calf binding.

Ariſtophanes, Venetiis, Aldus, 1498, folio. Editio Princeps. 12 inches by eight. In calf binding.

And—

A perfect copy of the Aberdeen Breviary, 12mo. In old calf, torn at the beginning.

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COLLEGE LIBRARIES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

THE brief and imperfect memoranda now printed, made ſome years ago with a view of aſcertaining the book-treaſures of Oxford, may ſerve as a ſkeleton-key to thoſe repoſitories. If any member of the Philobiblon Society ſhould be inclined to do for Oxford what Mr. Hartſhorne has done for Cambridge, and give a detailed account of the book-rarities of Oxford, the following rough notes may be of ſervice to him.

All Souls.

Books of prints of antiquities and the arts. Topographical works, chiefly

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on large paper. An extenſive collection on Civil Law.

Jeronimi Expoſitio, &c. 1468, or, more probably, 1478, No. I. of the Oxford Books bound up with No. II. of the ſame ſeries; both in quarto.

Ariſtotelis et Theophraſti Opera, Editio Princeps, Aldus, 1595-8, folio.

Coverdale's Bible, firſt edition, wanting the title, folio, 1535.

Coverdale's Bible, folio, 1537, complete.

Taverner's Bible, folio, J. Day, 1549.

Gower's Latin Poems in manuſcript.

Ordo in Synodo Herbipolenſi.

Prynne's Tracts; ſeveral volumes.

Theocritus, Gr. Editio Princeps, Aldus, 1495.

Sir Chriſtopher Wren's Original Deſigns for St. Paul's Cathedral, Greenwich Hoſpital, a Palace, &c.

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Theſe drawings are in three large folios in ruſſia.

Prynne's Records, three volumes, folio, London, 1665-6 and 1670.

Aſhmolean Muſeum.

Beſtiarium MS. See Bibl. Decam. vol. i. p. lxxxvi.-ix.

MSS. of Sir William Dugdale, of Anthony à Wood, and Elias Aſhmole.

Collection of Hiſtorical Tracts, Old Ballads, &c.

Wallography, or y^e^ Britons deſcribed, 1682, 8vo.

The Bodleian.

Some curious ſpecimens of Japaneſe Printing.

The firſt French Proteſtant Bible, Neuchatel, 1535.

Broadſide, printed at Norwich, 1570, unique.

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Some Hebrew books of Savioneta, 1551-90.

Perſius, Impr. Salutiis, (Saluzzo), 1481.

The firſt Edition of the Hebrew Bible, printed at Soncino, 1488. Only nine copies known.

Aretini Comœdia, Sortenſe Monaſter. 1478.

Apoſtolic Lives, on ſilk paper, 1591, Takagus, Japan.

Two imperfect copies of the Taviſtock Boëthius.

Armenian Verſion of Robertſon's Hiſtory of America, printed at Trieſte, two volumes, octavo.

The Office of S. Catherine, Gr. Tergoviſta, 1710.

Acta Sanctorum, v. 53, 1794, Tongerloo.

Tracts by Allen, Campian, &c. at Treves, 1583.

The two Waterford Books of 1555. See Cotton. Typ. Gaz.

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The Reſcueing of the Romiſhe Fox, &c., ſaid to have been printed at Wincheſter, 1545; but Cotton makes this appear doubtful.

The Mazarin Bible upon paper.

Ammianus Marcellinus, Editio Princeps, 1474.

The following books printed at Florence:—

Virgilii Opera, Servii, Cennini, 1471-2.

Monte Sancto di Dio, Boticelli, 1477.

Dante's Comm. Landino, 1481.

I trionfi di Petrarca, folio, ſ. a.

Homeri Opera, Ed. Pr. 1488, folio.

Zenobii Proverbia, Juntæ, 1497.

Juſtin and Orpheus, Juntæ, 1500.

Lit. Cap. Anthologia, 1494.

Callimachus, Euripides IV. Trag. and

Apollonius Rhodius, 1496.

Poëtæ Gnomici et Muſæus; and

Lucian, Ed. Pr. 1496, folio.

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The Icelandic Bible, Holum. 1728, 2 volumes, folio.

The Sclavonic Bible, Oſtrog. 1581, folio.

Doſithei τομος αγαπης, 1698, Jaſſy.

P. Apiani Coſmographia, Landſhut, 1524.

The King of Oude's Seven Seas, or Dictionary of Perſian, Lucknow, 1822, 7 volumes, folio.

Xylographic Specimen of Pekin Printing, entitled, "Brevis Relatio," &c. by the Jeſuits, 1700.

Vocabularius of Pfortzheim, 1550.

La Vie de S. Thibaut, Provins, 1676, 12mo.

Of the eight Oxford books in Cotton, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7, are here. Two copies of No. 1.

Of all the books printed upon vellum a chronological enumeration is given in Appendix B. to Cotton's Typographical Gazetteer, which conſult.

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Ciceronis Ep. ad Fam. 1469, Jo. de Spira. Both editions of this work.

Laſcaris Gram. Gr. Mediol. 1476, quarto, and

The Pſalms ſumpt. Bonaccurſii, &c. 1481.

Catholicon Januenſe, 1460, folio.

The Caxtons are twenty-three in number. See Bibl. Decam. iii. 430.

Auguſtinus, 1467, } In monaſt. } folio.
Lactantius, 1465, } Sublacen. }

Of the ſix St. Alban's Books in Cotton, Nos. 1, 5, and 6, are here.

Platyna de honeſtâ voluptate, Auſtriæ civitas, Cividad di Friuli, 1480.

Ptolemæi Coſmographia, Latine, Dominic de Lapis, Bologna, 1462, rightly 1467. See Cotton, under "Bononia."

Bibl. Patrum Ciſterc. Bonofonte, 1660, &c. 8 volumes, folio.

Biblia Polonica, Editio Princeps, Breſtia, 1563, folio.

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Biblia Bohemica, Briga, 1745.

Doſitheus' Hiſtory of the Patriarchs of Jeruſalem, Buchareſt, 1715, folio.

The Pſalms in Metre, America, Daye, 1640.

Didacus Stellæ, Monaſt. Marhannæ, 1740, quarto.

New Teſt. Geneſis and Exodus, Colombo in Ceylon, 1771, &c.

Several of the Hebrew books of Conſtantinople.

The Romaneſche or Griſon Bible, Coire, 1716.

Catechiſm, in Iriſh types, Dublin, 1571.

The York Miſſal of 1516, folio.

The ſubverſiõ of Moris falſe foundation, &c. 16mo. by George Joye, 64 leaves, London, 1534.

Eremus S. Mariæ de Ruah, 1585, 12mo.

The Spaniſh Bible, printed at Ferrara, 1553. Both the Chriſtian and Hebrew copies are here.

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Hidde de Camminga Comm. in Jus antiq. Friſonum. Two copies, 1488.

The Pſalms, in Swediſh verſe, &c. Gothenburg, Grefne, 1650.

The Grenada Vocabulary and Grammar, octavo.

Hiſtory of Michael Howe, Hobart's Town, 1818, octavo.

The Greek manuſcript of Plato, obtained by Dr. Clarke.

Illuminated manuſcript of Terence, Bibl. Decam. i. xli.

Pſalterium, MS. in Membr. Bibl. Decam. i. xcvii.

Roman d'Alexandre, MS. Sæc. XIV. 1338, in French metre, folio, on vellum. See Ellis, Warton, Strutt, Bibl. Decam. i. cxcviii.

Quintilian, P. de Lignamine, 1470, Editio Princeps.

Quintus Curtius, Lavers, Editio Princeps, ſ. a. folio.

Homeri Batrachomyomachia, Gr.

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1486, quarto. Printed in red and black lines alternately, E. P.

The Hereford Miſſal, mentioned in the Bibl. Decam. i. 12, and the Hertford Miſſal deſcribed in the Typog. Antiq. iii. 5, are, in fact, the Miſſale ad uſum Eccleſiæ Helfordenſis, Rothomagi, 1502, folio, noticed at p. 192 of Cotton's Typog. Gazetteer. See Van. Praet. iv. 27. Clarke, in his Repertorium Bibl. has fallen into the ſame error with Dibdin, but corrects the vague ſurmiſes of the latter concerning Hearne's copy of this "liber rariſſimus," by quoting Hearne's manuſcript note in *this*, once *his own*, copy, on vellum, now preſerved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Braſen Noſe College.

Alexander de Ales in Libros Ariſtotelis de Animâ, Oxford, 1481, folio, No. 4. Unique, upon vellum.

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Chriſt Church.

Miſſale Wolſeianum, MS. in Perg. See Warton's Eng. Poetry, iii. 146; Bibl. Decam. i. clxxxiii.

Epiſtolæ Pauli Gloſſatæ, MS. in membr. See Bibl. Decam. i. cvii.

Liber de Nobilitatibus, MS. 1327.

Biblia Polonica, Ed. Pr. 1563, folio.

Oxford Claſſics, on large paper.

Wells' Xenophon, folio, complete.

A noble regiment of genuine large paper Hearnes.

Knight's Lives of Eraſmus and Colet; large paper.

Lewis's Life of Wicliffe; large paper.

Pynſon's Froiſſart.

Auguſtinus Monaſtr. Sublacenſi, 1468.

Fox's Martyrs, Firſt Edition, folio, 1563, imperfect, B. L.

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Corpus Chriſti College.

Books purchaſed by Biſhop Sherwood, between 1470 and 1484, at Rome:—

Terentius, J. de Colonia, 1475, folio.

Cicero de Oratore, Romæ, 1469, folio.

Cicero, Opera Philoſophica, Romæ, 1471, folio.

Cicero, Epiſtolæ Familiares, Romæ, 1476, folio.

Calderini Comm. in Statii. Sylv. 1475, folio.

Landini Diſput. Camaldulenſes, Romæ, 1482.

Frontinus.

Trapezuntius.

Vitruvius.

For ſome account of Sherwood, ſee Bibl. Decam. iii. 2, 31-2.

The Contemplacyon of Sinners, W. de Worde, quarto, 1499.

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Mercurius Ruſticus, and M. Aulicus.

Nos. 5 and 6 of the Oxford Books. See Cotton.

Ciceronis Officia, Fuſt, &c. 1466, in membr.

Ariſtotelis Opera, Aldus, 1498; vols. 2, 3, and 4, only upon vellum, folio, vol. 2. being alſo in the Bodleian in the ſame ſtate.

Davidſon's Journal, and the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, 1812 and 13; printed on board the Caledonia, in the Mediterranean.

Tonſtall, de Arte Supputandi, printed by Pynſon upon vellum, quarto, 1522. His own copy, probably unique.

Stephen's Greek Theſaurus, large paper, three volumes, folio.

Juſtiniani Codex, three volumes, folio.

Apollonius Rhodius, Gr. E. P. L. C. Flor. 1496.

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Ariſtophanes, E. P. Aldus, 1498, folio.

Chronicles of England, Caxton, imperfect, 1480.

Dioſcorides Nicander, &c. Gr. Aldus, 1499, folio.

Hieronymi Epiſtolæ, E. P. Romæ, 1468, 2 volumes, folio, illuminated.

Books preſented by Biſhop Fox, the founder:—

Horatius cur. Landini, 1483, very fine.

Acron et Porphyrionis Comm. in Horat. cura Aloyſii, ſ. a. ſound and perfect.

Plautus, E. P. 1472, fine.

Senecæ Tragediæ, E. P. ſound.

Scholia in Sophoclem, E. P. fine.

Craſtoni Lexicon, Gr. E. P.

Orpheus, E. P. 1500, bound up with Euripides and Apollonius Rhodius, L. C.

Plutarchi Opuſc. Moralia, Aldus, 1509.

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Florence of Worceſter, MS. collated by Petrie.

French MS. of the Brute, collated by Petrie.

Life of Becket, by Herebert of Boſeham; firſt three books wanting, ſuppoſed unique.

Suidas, three volumes, folio, MS. collated by Porſon.

St. Baſil, Gr. MS. on vellum.

L'Hiſtoire de la Bible, MS. illuminated, on vellum, 2 tom. folio.

New Teſtament, on vellum, illuminated MS.

Speculum Humanæ Salv. MS. with drawings.

Ludolphi de Saxonia Vita Chriſti, large folio manuſcript, upon vellum, initials illuminated.

Mariani Scoti Chronicon, MS. with drawings.

MSS. of Twyne and Fulman, the Oxford Antiquaries. See Clarke, i. 163.

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Homeri Opera, E. P. Florence, 1488, two volumes, folio.

Plato, Gr. E. P. Aldus, 1513, folio.

Rhetores Vet. Græci, Aldus, 1508-9, two volumes, folio.

Oratores Græci Vet. Aldus, 1513, folio.

Exeter College.

Boëthius de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ. Enprented in the Monaſtery of Taveſtok, 1525. The only perfect copy known. (?)

Charter of the Tinners and Statutes of the Stannary. Imprented at Tavyſtocke, 1534, quarto, of twenty-ſix leaves, ſeveral rough; quite perfect and unique.

Biblia Hebraica, Ed. Pr. Soncino, 1488, folio.

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Jeſus College.

The Works of the Welſh Bards, called "The Red Book," MS. on vellum, large folio.

Magdalen College.

Ciceronis Officia, Fuſt, folio, 1465.

Miſſale Wolſeianum, MS. in Perg. See Bibl. Decam. i. clxxxiii.

Merton College.

The Firſt Edition of Chaucer by Caxton.

Walton's Polyglott, with the original Dedication.

Euſtace's Froiſſart of 1514, four volumes in two.

Le Noir's Monſtrelet of 1512, folio, very fine.

The Complutenſian Polyglott.

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Latin Vulgate Bible, Venice, Schoiffer, 1542.

Engliſh Bible, 1578.

Greek Bible, 1587. Very fine copy.

Hebrew Pentateuch, large paper, with a Commentary in four volumes, folio; lettered under horn, Bibl. Decam. ii. 528, iii. 432.

Lucian, Florentiæ, 1496, Ed. Pr.

Expoſitiones Antiquæ et valdè utiles, &c. per Stephanum et Fratres Sabior, Veronæ, Gr. folio.

Euſtathius Comm. in Homerum, 1542.

Priſcian, Aldus, Venet. large paper, very fine.

Hortus Adonidis, Venet. Aldus, 1479.

Heſychius, Aldus, Venet. Editio Princeps.

Demoſthenes, Second Aldine Edition.

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New College.

Ariſtotelis Opera, Aldus, 1498, folio, complete in ſix volumes, upon vellum.

Claymond's copy of the firſt Aldine Ariſtotle, upon vellum, in Corpus Chriſti College Library at Oxford, "wants one volume, and the Bodleian, I believe, poſſeſſes that volume."—Bibl. Decameron, iii. 236. Now there is no occaſion for inquiring "which ſhall enact Mahomet on this occaſion," ſince the Corpus volumes, on vellum, are vols. ii. iii. and iv., and that in the Bodleian is the ſecond volume only, upon vellum. It is in the Library of New College, Oxford, that the firſt Aldine Ariſtotle is treaſured complete, in ſix volumes, upon vellum.

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Oriel College.

Evangeliſtarium, manu Joan. Capgrave ſcriptum, illum. &c. upon vellum; ſæc. XV.

No. 4 of the Oxford Books. See Cotton.

Poli Synopſis, Ch. Mag.

Provoſt Daventry's Catalogue of the Collegiate Library, 1349, MS. on vellum, recently bound, 1816, in blue morocco, by Lewis, Bibl. Decam. iii. 228.

St. John's College.

Ciceronis Officia, Fuſt, &c. folio, 1465, in membr.

Beſtiarium, MS. 103 leaves. See Bibl. Decam. i. lxxxiii.-iv.

The Caxtons are eleven in number, including—

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The Second Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, and—

The Game of Chefs.

Both perfect. Bibl. Decam. iii. 434.

Ammonii Comm. in Porphyr. Iſagog. folio, Ed. Pr. Venice, 1500.

Aquino, Exequial. Jac. II. c. Barberini, folio, Romæ, 1702.

Ariſtophanes, Gr. Ed. Pr. Aldus, 1498.

Biblia Polyglotta, Waltoni, blue morocco, ruled.

Biblia Sacra, folio, Lugd. 1566.

Brunonis Pſalterium, quarto, Koburger, 1494.

Booke of Common Prayer, London, Barker, 1615, folio.

Defence of Peace, &c. London, Rob. Wyer, 1535.

Harbin's Hereditary Right, &c. folio, London, 1713.

Heywood's Play of the Weather, 12mo. unique.

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Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Scriptores, folio, Ed. Pr. Mediol. 1475.

Alexander de Ales, Oxon. 1481, folio.

Latteburius, in Threnos Iheremie, Oxon. 1482, folio.

Some early Bibles.

Laud's Speech in the Star Chamber, 1637, folio, printed on vellum.

Vita S. Thomæ Martyr. Cantuar. Paris, 1495, quarto.

Legenda Nova Angliæ, W. de Worde, 1516, folio.

The Ordinary of Chryſten Men, by Wynkyn de Worde, 1506, quarto.

The Law of God, &c. Little Gidding Nunnery, 1640. See Gough's Br. Top. i. 437-8.

Andr. Maunſell's Catalogue of Engliſh printed Books. Both Parts, Lond. Windet, 1595, folio.

Les Poſtilles, &c. Impr. à Troyes, 1492, folio.

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Prynne's Records, three volumes, folio, 1665-6-70.

Pſalterium Polyglotton, Mediol. 1506, folio, in membranis.

Simplicii Comm. in Categ. Ariſtot. Ed. Pr. Ven. 1499.

Speculum Hum. Vitæ, ſ. l. aut a.

The Hiſtory of the Stewards, with Portraits, Amſt. 1603, folio. See Clarke, i. 172.

Old Engliſh Chronicles of Holinſhed, Grafton, Harding, Fabyan, Raſtell, with Lord Berner's Froiſſart.

Many L. P. Hearnes, and a large collection of Hiſtorical Tracts.

The Radcliffe Library.

Natural Hiſtory and Medicine.
Architecture and Antiquities.
Some Oriental Manuſcripts.

To render the references to the

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books printed at Oxford during the fifteenth century intelligible, I ſubjoin the liſt from Cotton's Typographical Gazetteer, p. 208:—

1. Expoſicio S. Hieronymi in Symbolum Apoſtolorum, 1468, quarto.

2. Ariſtotelis Ethica Latinè, per L. Aretinum, 1479, quarto.

3. Ægidius Romanus, de Peccato Originali, 1479, quarto.

4. Alexander de Ales in Libros Ariſtotelis de Animâ, 1481, folio.

5. Io. Latteburius in Threnos Ieremiæ, 1482, folio.

6. Phalarides Epiſtolæ Latinè per L. Aretinum, ſ. a. (1485), quarto.

7. Jo. Lyndewode, Conſtitutiones Provinciales, ſ. a. folio; and—

8. Liber Feſtivalis, 1486, folio.

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THE HOLKHAM LIBRARY.

THE foundation of the Library at Holkham was laid by Sir Edward Coke, Chief Juſtice of England from 1613 to 1616, and has been not only preſerved but enriched by its ſucceſſive owners. It was by Thomas Coke, a lineal deſcendant of Henry, fifth ſon of the Chief Juſtice, that the houſe at Holkham was built, and the treaſures in learning and art there aſſembled were collected. He was created ſucceſſively a baronet, Lord Lovel, and Earl of Leiceſter, under the Walpole adminiſtration, but his ſon dying without iſſue, thoſe titles became extinct. In 1837, however, the popular agriculturiſt, Mr. Thomas William Coke, was created

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Earl of Leiceſter and Viſcount Coke. By his kind permiſſion I was permitted to ſee the Library at Holkham, and to obtain from Mr. R. Collyer ſome account of its contents, which may be acceptable to the Philobiblon Society.

The manuſcript portion of this Library is extremely valuable. There are no leſs than eight manuſcript Pſalters, all of early date. Of theſe the moſt remarkable has been thus deſcribed by Mr. Roſcoe:—

"Pſalterium Latinè, on vellum, folio, XIV century. The capital letters are richly illuminated, the character, a large black ſquare letter, being that which ſeems to have afforded the pattern for the Pſalter of Fuſt and Schoeffer of 1459. A kalendar is prefixed; and, from the liſts of ſaints, we may conclude that this manuſcript was written in England. Before each pſalm are muſical notes

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on the four-lined ſtave. Beſides the Pſalter, the manuſcript contains hymns and prayers, ſo as to ſerve the purpoſes of a maſs-book," &c.

Among the other manuſcripts may be noticed:—

A Greek Evangeliſtarium, to which are prefixed the Canons of Euſebius. This manuſcript is of the cloſe of the eleventh century, and belonged originally to the abbey of St. Martin at Weingarten in the dioceſe of Conſtance.

A Latin Evangeliſtarium written in demi-uncial characters at the cloſe of the eleventh century. This manuſcript is in a rich ſilver gilt cover, ornamented with precious ſtones. It was purchaſed for the Holkham Library in 1818.

Another Latin Evangeliſtarium of the eleventh century is alſo in a cover of ſilver gilt, and gemmed, but of ruder execution.

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A Breviary of the twelfth century with a ſilver cover. The monk who tranſlated it has left his name and effigy, 'HAINRICUS . SACRISTANUS.' with theſe lines:—

"Hunc tibi curæ Dei fero librum Sȼte Joannes,
Ne me ſubſannes ſed prœmia des requiei."

Another Breviary, which appears to have been tranſcribed between the years 1202 and 1231, is in a richly enamelled cover.

Of ſurpaſſing intereſt is a volume 15 inches high by 11 inches wide, containing thirty-five ſheets, ſome folded, and others drawn on both ſides by the hand of Raffaelle, with ſome memoranda in his handwriting. Theſe drawings are, for the moſt part, done with a pen, in brown ink or biſtre, and are chiefly architectural, from antique buildings, fragments, ſtatues, &c. done by order of

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Leo X. at Rome. Some ſketches from the Creation for the Loggie of the Vatican, and the original deſign of the Brazen Serpent, are alſo found in this volume, to which is prefixed a portrait of Raffaelle after Carlo Maratti.

No leſs worthy of notice is a Treatiſe on the Nature, Weight, and Motion of Water, written by Leonardo da Vinci, with mathematical and other figures in the margin, drawn with a pen in Indian ink. This manuſcript conſiſts of thirty-ſix leaves, cloſely written on paper, bound in ruſſia, and formerly belonged to Giuſeppe Ghezzi, an artiſt in Rome.

Deſcrittione della Pitture fatta da Luca Giordano nella Galleria del Marcheſe Ricardo poſta nel ſuo Palazzo nelle Citta di Firenzi. Folio.

The Decameron of Boccaccio, a beautiful manuſcript, on the fineſt vellum, in double columns, with the

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capitals illuminated, and a repreſentation of the interlocutors aſſembled in Santa Maria Novella on the firſt page. In blue velvet, in a caſe.

The earlieſt manuſcript of Dante, in this collection, is in a ſemi-gothic hand of the 15th century, commencing with—

"Incipit liber inferni Dantis Alleghieri,"

and ending with—

"Deo gratias. Amen."

It is on vellum, in folio, in ruſſia. The initials are rudely coloured.

The following manuſcripts of claſſical authors are intereſting, as having the date ſubjoined. The manuſcript of Virgil is beautifully written on vellum and very highly decorated. It is in two volumes, folio, with braſs boſſes and curious claſps. The firſt volume, as appears from a note at the end, was finiſhed on St. Thomas Aquinas' Day, 1472. The tranſ-

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cription of the ſixth book of the Æneid is noted to have been completed March 24th, 1473.

A folio manuſcript on vellum contains both Perſius and Horace. The date is aſcertained by the following note:—

"Hoc volumen comparavit Raphael de Marcatellis Dei gratiâ Epiſcopus Roſenſis, Abbas Sĉti Bavonis juxta Gandavum, Anno Dni. 1497."

The Chroniques des Contes de Flandres are well written in double columns. The illuminations are very numerous, and ſingularly beautiful. This work was tranſlated from the Latin in the time of Charles the Bold, whoſe third ducheſs, Margaret, ſiſter of our Edward IV, has written her name at the end—"Margarete d'Angleterre." The foregoing account has been taken from the notice prefixed to the proof impreſſions of engravings deſigned to illuſtrate Mr.

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Roſcoe's Catalogue of the Manuſcript Library of Holkham, of which fifty copies were printed, but not publiſhed, in 1835.

The books in the Holkham Library are far more numerous than meet the viſitor's eye; and not being claſſed in much order of date, it is not eaſy to do juſtice to them in ſuch a ſelection as the preſent.

Foremoſt among the printed books ſtands the ſecond Pſalter of 1459, printed by Fuſt and Schoiffer at Mayence, 29 Auguſt of that year, with the ſame types as the firſt edition, but not accompanied by the ſame prayers or hymns.

The Lactantius of 1465, printed "in Monaſterio Sublacenſi," has not the errata. Mr. Collyer calls it "a moſt elegant copy. It is remarkable for having the quotations from Greek authors occaſionally printed in a very neat Greek letter, at other

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times blanks are left for ſuch quotations to be afterwards inſerted with the pen; a circumſtance which indicates a ſcarcity of Greek types."

There is another edition of Lactantius printed at Venice by Vindelin de Spira in 1472, folio, which has the errata.*

I noticed a copy of Cicero's Familiar Epiſtles, printed upon vellum by Jenſon, at Venice, in 1471, a large quarto.

Among the other works of Cicero may be mentioned—

De Officiis, and the Orationes Philippicæ, both printed at Venice, "per Johannem de Colonia," in 1474, quarto.

Epiſtolæ Familiares, Venetiis, 1480, and Orationes of the ſame date.

Rhetorica, 1483.

De Naturâ Deorum, 1494.

* See Panzer's Annal. Typog. vol. iii. p. 84.

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Tuſculanæ Quæſtiones, 1480.

De Officiis, Venetiis, apud Bernardum de Choris, 1492.

Among other books printed in the fifteenth century we find:—

Plinii Hiſtoria Naturalis ex emendatione Philippi Beroaldi, Parmæ, per Stephanum Corallum, 1476, folio.

Diodorus Siculus, Hiſt. Latinè, Venetiis, A. J. Katharenſis, 1476, folio.

Phalaridis Epiſtolæ, 1498.

Ovidii Opera, Vicentiæ, 1480, folio.

Servius in Virgilium Mediolani, 1475, folio.

Homeri Opera Græca, Editio Princeps, Florentiæ, 1488, folio, 2 vols.

Livii Decades, Tarviſii, 1480, folio.

Suetonius, Jenſon, 1471, quarto.

Sidonii Apollinaris Poema Aureum, 1498, folio.

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Juvenalis Satyræ cum notis Mancinelli, Venetiis, 1494, folio.

Boccaccii Genealogia Deorum, Venetiis, Vindelin de Spira, 1472, folio.

Suidæ Lexicon, Mediolani, 1488, and 1499, both in folio; the latter in 2 vols.

The Etymologicum Magnum Græcum, 1499, folio.

The Catholicon Januenſe, Moguntiæ, 1460, folio.

Neſtoris Dionyſii Opera, 1488, folio.

Chryſoſtomi Omeliæ ſuper Evangelium S. Joannis, Romæ, 1470, fol.

Speculum Vitæ Chriſti, London, by Wynkin de Worde, 1494.

Biblia Sacra Latinè, Venetiis, "apud Symonem Bevilaquam," 1498, quarto.

There are early editions of the Epiſtles and Tragedies of Seneca, of the Comedies of Terence, the Satires

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of Juvenal, the Pharſalia of Lucan, and the Hiſtory of Livy.

The Aldine collection is both numerous and valuable, embracing—

The Theſaurus Cornucopiæ et Hortus Adonidis, 1498, folio.

Philoſtratus de Vitâ Apollonii, 1501, quarto.

Lucianus Græcè, 1503, folio.

Livy, 1520, folio.

Æſopi Fabulæ, 1505, folio.

Demoſthenes, Editio Princeps, 1503, folio.

Alſo of thoſe books to be held in the hand, which Aldus was the firſt to introduce, we find—

Editions of Statius, 1502.

Homer's Iliad and Odyſſey, in two volumes, 1504.

Ovidii Opera, 1502.

Lactantius, 1535.

Claudian, 1523.

Aſconius Pedianus in Orationes Ciceronis, 1522.

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Horatius, 1501.
Lucanus, 1502.
Silius Italicus, 1523.
Quintus Curtius, 1520.
Senecæ Tragœdiæ, 1517.
Catullus, Tibullus, et Propertius, 1502.
Ciceronis Epiſtolæ ad Atticum, 1513.
Livy, of 1518 et ſeq., two volumes only out of the five.
Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Scriptores, 1519.
Pomponius Mela, 1518.
Valerius Flaccus, 1523.
Valerius Maximus, 1514, and
Apollonius Rhodius, 1521,
may be here enumerated.

The Holkham Library can alſo boaſt the Firſt Edition of Petrarch, printed at Venice by Vindelin de Spira, in 1470, quarto.

It alſo contains Platonis Opera Latinè, 1518, et Ficino interpretè, 1532.

Virgilius, Guellii, Antverpiæ, 1575.

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The firſt edition of the works of Thomas Aquinas, printed at Rome in 1570-71, in eighteen folio volumes.

This noble Library is very rich in works of Divinity, and on Civil and Canon Law; but enough has been ſaid to ſhow its value and extent. Such notices as theſe may ſerve to ſtimulate rather than to ſatisfy the appetite for books, which grows by what it feeds on.

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CATHEDRAL OF ST. DAVID.

THE library attached to this ancient Cathedral is kept in St. Andrew's Chapel, now uſed alſo as a veſtry, on the north ſide of that noble edifice. It appears to have been founded by Canon Holcombe about the end of the laſt century. But many books are ſaid to have been removed, and thoſe that remain have been ſo injured by damp and neglect as to be ſcarcely worth preſerving. There is no catalogue, and it may ſuffice to notice ſuch works as thoſe of Eraſmus and Cicero, Chillingworth and Tillotſon, to give a general idea of its contents.

I may alſo enumerate—

Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible.

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Hammond's Paraphraſe.
Pole's Synopſis.
Gibſon's Codex.
Bingham's Works.
Jenkins on the Chriſtian Religion.
Locke on the Underſtanding.

I noticed—

The Hiſtorical Regiſter.
Biographical Dictionary.
Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion.
Livy, edited by Hearne.
Beattie's Eſſays.
Newton's Works, edited by Horſley.

The Works on Natural Hiſtory compriſe—

Lyte's Herbal.
Johnſtoni Hiſtoria Naturalis.
Gerarde's Herbal.
Linnæi Species Plantarum.

The foreign Works that occurred to me were—

Guicciardini's Storia d'Italia.

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Torriano's Italian Dictionary.
The moſt recent Works were—
The Orders in Council of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and
A few Parliamentary Reports.

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CATHEDRAL OF ST. ASAPH.

THE Library of the Dean and Chapter of St. Aſaph is depoſited in convenient preſſes arranged round the ſouth tranſept of the Cathedral Church. It is made available as a lending library for the clergy in reſidence. The catalogue bears the date of 1711, and the collection appears to have been augmented by the books of Thomas, Biſhop of St. Aſaph in 1739, and by ſome donations from Mr. Clopton. As uſual, in theſe Eccleſiaſtical Libraries, the claſs of theology, including commentators, ſchoolmen, ſermons, and controverſial tracts, is more numerous than any of the others.

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Of Editions of the Sacred Text we find on theſe ſhelves—

Walton's Polyglot, accompanied by

Caſtell's Lexicon,

The Welſh Bible of 1689, and

Mills' New Teſtament.

The Book of Common Prayer, printed by Edward Whitchurch in May and June, 1549, is here found accompanied by

The Sealed Book of 1562, alſo in folio.

The Liturgia Anglicana of 1670, and the

Breviarium Romanum, publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1639, may be here noticed.

Of the Fathers of the Church it may ſuffice to mention the Works of Chryſoſtom, Cyprian, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Euſebius, Philo Judæus, Polycarp, and Ignatius.

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Of the Works of the Schoolmen Thomas Aquinas may fairly ſtand as the repreſentative; but we find here alſo—

The Works of Eraſmus, Calvin, Grotius, Lactantius, and Boethius,

Pole's Synopſis Criticorum, and

Limborch, Theologia Chriſtiana.

The Engliſh Divines whoſe Works are found here are—

Jewel, Hooker, Jackſon, Tillotſon, Mede, Sherlock, Barrow, Kettlewell, Stillingfleet, Leſlie, Burnet, Oſtervald, South, Bingham, Beveridge, Gataker, Pearſon, Patrick, Prideaux, Waterland, Hoadley, and Biſhop Wilkins.

I may here alſo mention—

Boyle's Lectures.

Wake's Apoſtolical Fathers.

Buchanan's Pſalms.

Wharton's Anglia Sacra.

Stackhouſe's Hiſtory of the Bible.

Brogden's Catholic Safeguards.

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Tait on the Epiſtle to the Hebrews.

Field of the Church.

Dupin's Eccleſiaſtical Writers.

To theſe may be added—

Short's Hiſtory of the Church of England.

Allix's Hiſtory of the Albigenſes, and of the Church of Piedmont.

Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

Cave's Lives, and Hiſtoria Literaria.

Fox's Book of Martyrs, 1641, folio.

Walker's Hiſtory of Independency.

Godwin's Catalogue of Biſhops.

Uſher's Chronologia Sacra.

Blackwell's Sacred Claſſics.

Lowth on the Meſſiah.

The Works of Joſephus.

Quareſmi Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ.

The Claſſical Authors, whoſe Works are found on theſe ſhelves include—

Anacreon, Catullus, Tibullus and

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Propertius, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, Ariſtotle, Pliny, Juſtin, Cæſar, Cornelius Nepos, Juvenal, Xenophon, Seneca, Tacitus, Thucydides, Lucian, Lucretius, Herodian, Sophocles, Macrobius, Theophraſtus, Ælian, Lucan, and Euclid.

Ciceronis Opera Gronovii.

The Epiſtles of Alciphron.

I may here notice—

Scapulæ Lexicon Græcum.

Buxtorf's Hebrew Lexicon.

Wolfii Curæ Philologicæ.

The Logic of Burgerdicius, apoſtrophiſed by Sterne as "thou faithful analyſer of my diſgrazias."

Of Works relating to the Hiſtory of England we find—

Heath's Chronicle.

Camden's Remains.

Verſtegan's Antiquities.

Nalſon's Collections.

Clarendon's Rebellion.

Echard's Hiſtory of England.

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Milton's Hiſtory of Britain.
And alſo—
Buchanan de Rebus Scoticis.
Cuming's Iſle of Man.
The department of Engliſh Literature embraces—
Milton's Paradiſe Loſt.
George Herbert's Poems.
Tuſſer's Huſbandry.
The Works of Selden, Puffendorf, Bacon, and Sir Walter Raleigh.
Rycaut's Hiſtory of the Turks.
Churchill, and
Dampier's Voyages.
Stanley's Lives of the Philoſophers.
Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes.
Heylin's Coſmography.
Hay's Synopſis.
To which may be added—
The Catalogue of the Harleian Library.
The publications of the Record Commiſſion.
The Dictionnaire Hiſtorique and

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other works of reference are found in the Library; and the addition of modern works, ſuch as thoſe of the preſent Biſhop of St. Aſaph, ſhows a laudable deſire to increaſe the uſefulneſs of this Collection on the part of thoſe entruſted with its preſervation.

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THE EXECUTION OF CARDINAL CARAFFA.

COMMUNICATED

BY MR. EDWARD CHENEY.

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THE CARAFFA* FAMILY.

THIS intereſting account of the laſt moments of the Cardinal Caraffa I owe to the kindneſs of my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown, by whoſe taſte and induſtry many a curious record of the paſt has been reſcued from undeſerved oblivion.

The beſt and fulleſt account of the reign of Pope Paul IV. will be found in the "Storia della Guerra "degli Spagnuoli contra Papa Paolo

* The orthography of this name ſeems to have been uncertain. In the earlier chronicles and hiſtories it was written indifferently Caraffa, Carraffa, and Carafa. The Prince of La Roccella, and the other branches of his family, have diſcarded the double conſonants and now write their name Carafa. I have, however, followed the original manuſcript from which I offer an extract, and have retained the ſecond conſonant.

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" IV," written by Pietro Nores, and publiſhed for the firſt time in the 12th volume of the " Archivio Sto- " rico Italiano ;" but the preſent narrative contains ſome details reſpecting the Cardinal's death which have never been publiſhed, and which could have been known only to an eye-witneſs. The writer ſeems to have been that Fabio Orſini mentioned in the text who attended the Cardinal in his impriſonment, and who was ſummoned to his bedchamber to aſſiſt in preparing him for his execution.

The extract is copied from a manuſcript in the Marcian Library at Venice.

A brief recapitulation of the events that led to this execution may not be unacceptable.

Cardinal Carlo Caraffa, of an illuſtrious Neapolitan family, was the ſecond ſon of the Count of Montorio,

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the elder brother of Pope Paul IV. He was one of three members of the ſame houſe raiſed to the dignity of the Roman purple, and was ſuppoſed at one time to enjoy the principal place in his uncle's affections.

Paul IV. (Gianpiero Caraffa) was raiſed to the Cardinalate by Paul III, over whoſe counſels, in the opinion of his contemporaries, he exerciſed a conſiderable influence. Always a ſtrong partiſan of the French intereſt in his native country, his zeal is ſuppoſed to have been greatly ſtrengthened by perſonal reſentment againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, the Emperor Charles V. having refuſed him the inveſtiture of the Archbiſhopric of Naples when nominated to that dignity by Paul III.

No ſooner was he raiſed to the Papal throne than he gave vent to all the arrogance and impetuoſity of his character. Naturally ſtern and

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auſtere, the reformation of the Church was his firſt object. Haughty and ambitious, the aggrandiſement of the high office he held was no leſs his earneſt deſire; but ſtronger than either of theſe was his wiſh to mortify and humiliate the Houſe of Auſtria. He commenced his long quarrel with that powerful family by proteſting againſt the abdication of Charles V, on the plea that he had not been previouſly conſulted, and his ſanction obtained. He next refuſed the Imperial title to Ferdinand, the Emperor-elect, and the inveſtiture of the kingdom of Naples to Philip II, and haughtily commanded the Duke of Alva, the newly-appointed Vice-roy, to abſtain from every act of ſovereignty.

The adherents of the Houſe of Auſtria in Italy he viſited with his ſevereſt diſpleaſure. The Colonna family (from time immemorial at-

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tached to the Imperial party) were the firſt objects of his perſecution. Some of its members he impriſoned under various pretences; others he drove into exile, and confiſcated the property of all. The important fief of Paliano, which commands one of the roads into the kingdom of Naples, he wreſted from the chief of that family, and beſtowed it on his nephew the Count of Montorio, eldeſt brother of the Cardinal, who henceforward bore the title of Duke of Paliano.

His animoſity hurried him into acts of hoſtility ſtill more imprudent and criminal. He exerted all his influence to provoke a war between France and Spain; and when, at the inſtance of Queen Mary of England, a long truce had been ſigned between the two countries, he deſpatched his nephew the Cardinal Caraffa to perſuade the French

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king (Henry II.) to break it, and to make a treacherous attack on the unſuſpecting Spaniards.

The Cardinal was but too ſucceſsful in his negotiations. The war, inauſpiciouſly begun, was carried on with equal bitterneſs and imprudence; but the allies were no match for their powerful and fortunate adverſary, and the defeat of the French army, at St. Quentin, compelled the Duke of Guiſe, who commanded the army in Italy, inſtantly to hurry back to France, where the victorious Spaniards were menacing the capital itſelf.

The Pope was now left to the mercy of his enemies. The Duke of Alva was advancing upon Rome, and even the haughty Paul was compelled to acknowledge that he poſſeſſed no means of reſiſting the invaſion. He ſued for peace, and the boon was readily granted by the prudence or the piety of the Spaniards,

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and upon terms more favourable than he could have ventured to propoſe.

Compelled to reſign his darling project of humiliating the too powerful Houſe of Auſtria, he returned with renewed energy to his ſcheme of internal reformation. The clergy were the firſt to feel the effects of his awakened zeal. Many reforms were projected, and ſome were accompliſhed. While he confined his efforts to the reformation of the clergy, the laity were loud in their approbation; and in the zenith of his popularity a bronze ſtatue was raiſed in the Capitol, by general ſubſcription, to commemorate his virtues: but when he extended his plans of amendment, all his popularity vaniſhed in an inſtant. The introduction of the Inquiſition was peculiarly odious, but his interference with private life was even ſtill more intolerable.

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The conduct of his own family, meantime, was a ſubject of general ſcandal. The Duke of Paliano, of a character ſingularly graſping, cruel, and vindictive, was loudly accuſed of the murder of his wife under circumſtances of peculiar atrocity, and the government of the legation of Bologna, under the Cardinal Carlo, was denounced as a ſample of all that was corrupt and tyrannical. Theſe accuſations at length reaching the ears of the Pope excited his utmoſt wrath. The Cardinals Carlo and Alfonſo, the latter holding the office of Camerlingo, were ſeized, impriſoned, and deprived of all their dignities. The Duke of Paliano, ſtripped of his poſſeſſions, was driven into exile, nor did powerful interceſſion on his behalf nor his own expreſſion of penitence effect any alteration in the determination of the imperious old man.

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The Pope, however, did not long ſurvive the diſgrace of his kinſmen; he expired ſoon afterwards, in the 84th year of his age, after a reign of little more than four years. He was ſucceeded on the throne by John Angelo de' Medici, or Medichini, who aſſumed the name of Pius IV, and who, after a time, completed the ruin of the Caraffa family, which their own kinſman had begun.

Six months after his elevation to the throne the two Cardinals, Alfonſo and Carlo Caraffa, were arreſted on a charge of high crimes and miſdemeanour. The Duke of Paliano, his brother-in-law, the Count Aliffe, and certain of their kinſmen, were already in priſon, and the whole were put on their trial at once. After an inveſtigation which laſted nine months, all were found guilty, and all were condemned to death. The ſentence on the Cardi-

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nal Alfonſo, in conſequence of the mildneſs of his general character, was commuted into a heavy fine, but on all the reſt it was carried into execution. The Cardinal Carlo was ſtrangled in the Caſtel S. Angelo, his brothers, with their accomplices, were beheaded in the priſon of Tordinona.

The Cardinal Caraffa may poſſibly have deſerved his fate, but of the crime for which he ſuffered he was certainly not guilty. The principal count in his indictment recited the evil counſel which he had given his uncle, the truth he had concealed from him, the falſe reports he had communicated to him, and the encouragement he had given to the Spaniſh war. It muſt have been notorious to his judges, as it was to the public, that the reſentment of the aged Pontiff againſt the Houſe of Auſtria required no encourage-

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ment from his nephew, who acted merely as his agent, a too zealous one, perhaps, and who would certainly have forfeited all the favour of his relation and prince if he had attempted to thwart him in his favourite project.

Panvino, the continuator of Platinas' Lives of the Popes, informs us that he had an explanation of Pius' motives from his own lips. He was induced, he said, to exercise a severity in the present case, which was foreign to his character, for the purposes of example; he was willing to impress upon all the kinsmen of future Popes that the day of retribution would come, and that neither rank nor riches would secure them against merited punishment.

Without supposing that such motives were altogether indifferent to him, it is more probable that he acted at the instigation of the Court of Spain,

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whoſe ſupport he had received in the conclave; and it may readily be believed that a ſovereign even leſs vindictive than Philip II. might wiſh to puniſh rebellious ſubjects who had dared to brave his anger, had involved him in a war, and actually borne arms againſt him.

Pietro Nores, the hiſtorian to whom we have already alluded, ſums up his hiſtory with a ſentence which, for point and condenſation, might have been penned by Machiavelli himſelf: "Un ſolo errore "il cardinale commiſe, che in via "politica non ammette perdono o "ſcuſa: nel principio ſi fidò troppo "degli amici, nel fine ſi fidò troppo "de' nemici."—*Archivio Storico*, vol. xii. p. 299.

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Eſtratta del Cod. 79, *Claſſe* 6, (*dell' Appendice al Catalogo de' Manoſcritti Italiani eſiſtenti nella Marciana*) *da pag.* 89, *retro alla* 91.*

Morte di D. Carlo Card. Caraffa.

La notte antecedente al dì che fu alli 6 di Marzo 1561 circa le cinqu' hore di notte entrorono in Caſtello li due Barigelli, Gaſparino e Lattantio, e preſentati li mandati al Sig^r Vice Caſtellano hebbero da lui le chiavi delle ſtanze dove ſtava il Card. Caraffa prigione; aprendo le porte entrorono dentro inſieme con li due, il luogotenente Morgante, et il manigoldo, con due torcie acceſe e trovorono nell' anticamera li Servitori del Cardinale e li Soldati della guar-

* Anonymous. But the writer ſeems to have been Fabio Orſini, the attendant of the Cardinal Caraffa.

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dia che dormivano, quali ſentendo il rumore, uno di detti Servitori, chiamato Fabio Orſino pigliato un candeliere con una candela, l'acceſe e entrò nella ſtanza dove ſtava il Cardinale, che ancora non dormiva; dietro lui ſequitorono detti Barigelli. Diſſe il Cardinale: "chi e là?" al quale riſpoſe detto Fabio: ſono coſtoro, moſtrando detti Barigelli; et il Cardinale replicò: "chi coſtoro?" al quale Fabio riſpore: "Il Barigello "di Roma" allora il Cardinale diſſe "ohimè" ſoſpirando "che ſarà "queſto?" et incontinente accoſtandoſi al letto Gaſparino, ſalutandolo prima, ſenza altro preambulo diſſe: "Monſignore gli porto una mala nuo- "va: è mente di ñrō Sig^re che V. S. "Ill^ma muora; è così commeſſo a noi; "Siamo qua per queſto effetto, biſogna "che abbia pazienza e ſi raccomandi "a Dio." Allhora il Card^e maravigliandoſi, con vehemenza grande ſu-

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bito riſpoſe, "Morire io?" * e le medeme parole replicò due volte. E Gaſparino riſpoſe di sì, e ſtette così un poco coricato come era, tutto attonito ſenza dire niente, e dipoi levatoſi a ſedere ſul letto, guardando in ſu ſbattendo le mane, una con l'altra, dando fuori un grandiſſimo ſoſpiro riſpoſe, "Pazienza—Dateme da ve-"ſtire"—ponendoſi un giuppone di raſo bianco et un paro di calzoni di velluto, e con un paio di pianelle ſi poſe in piede in mezzo della camera, allaciandoſi le calzette un buon pezzo ſenza dir coſa alcuna, tuttavia ſoſpirando; dipoi fattoſi ridar l'acqua dal ſervitore ſi rinfreſcò la bocca, e bebbe un poco di quella, e diſſe: "Hora ſaranno contenti Aleſſandro

* Pietro Nores ſays (I quote from the *Archivio Storico*, vol. xii. p. 298): "Il Cardinale, "con animo tanto più forte del fratello, quanto "meno loquace, non diſſe, ſe non queſte pa-"role: Io morire! O Papa Pio, O re Filippo, "non aſpettavo già io queſto da voi!"

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" Pallantieri* et il Governatore di " Roma." Detto queſto ſi miſe un ſaio di velluto paonazzo, e domandò la berretta da Cardinale. Sporgendogliela il cameriere, Gaſparino riſpoſe, " Monſignore laſciate, non " ſete più Cardinale." Al che diſſe lui " Pazienza, ancora di queſto " datemi un cappello," quale hauto ſe lo poſe in teſta, et una pelliccia

* Pallantieri, whether guilty or not of the iniquity imputed to him by the Cardinal, ſuffered in the following reign for his participation in the recent execution. Nores concludes his hiſtory with theſe words: " E con l' impeto di " queſta procella non potè fare che, ſe un " Papa il condannò, un altro non l' aſſolveſſe; " e ſe Pio IV. il fe' morire, il ſucceſſore Pio V. " Pontefice il più zelante e il più ſanto che " abbia retto la chieſa di Dio da molti ſecoli " in qua, tratta dal ſepolcro la ſua innocenza " non dichiaraſſe la ſentenza data contra di lui " nulla, la morte ingiuſta, i proceſſi falſificati, " e non faceſſe il Fiſcale Pallantieri, per così " enorme delitto, con nota di perpetua infa- " mia, a guiſa di pubblico ladrone, impiccare " per la gola. Un ſolo errore, &c."

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attorno; finito di veſtire, Gaſparino diſſe, "Monſignore mi perdoni di "queſto, biſogna vi ſi mettino le "manette." Riſpoſe il Cardinale: "Eccomi, fate quello che volete" e così porgendo le braccia ſe gli accoſtò uno di detti luogotenenti e volle mettergliene un paro, che per eſſere troppo ſtrette poi mutò in altre più larghe. Fatto queſto diſſe il Cardinale ad uno delli ſoldati della guardia "Fatemi grazia, andate del "Sig^e Vice Caſtellano, e ditegli, ſi "degni venir ſin quì." Il quale andato, mentre il Vice Caſtellano tardò a venire, che non fu però troppo, il Card^le ſtette ſempre fermo tutto penſoſo. Venuto il Vice Caſtellano, e fatto tirar dabanda tutti i circoſtanti, ſpaſſegiorono un pezzo inſieme raggionando piano, che non potevano eſſer inteſi. Il Cardinale nondimeno alzando un poco la voce, che pareva voleſſe eſſere inteſo, diſſe: "Io ho

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" penſato più volte in che modo poſſa
" haver offeſo ſua Santità, et in effetto
" non ho mai trovato che io l' habbia
" offeſo; trovo bene, che lo l' ho ſer-
" vito, e ſupplico V. S. faccia tanta
" gratia farglielo intendere: e finito
" il ragionamento, condolendoſi in-
" ſieme, et abbracciandoſi qualche
" volta inſieme, domandandogli per-
" dono, il V. Caſtellano ſi partì pi-
" angendo." Allhora il Cardinale credendoſi lo cavaſſero di Caſtello, diſſe " Horſu andiamo." Gaſparino riſpoſe " non habbiamo a partir di
" quà." Il Cardinale diſſe—" Non
" volete che mi confeſſi?" " Si
" Monſig^r." preſentandoli un Prete diſſe, " Ecco il confeſſore," quale il Cardinale ſquadrando tutto prima, e ben conſiderato, diſſe, " Io non
" voglio dire, che queſto huomo da
" bene non ſia valente e ſufficiente,
" ma non haverei penſato mai che
" in queſt' ultimo punto non mi foſſe

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" conceſſo chiamare uno a mia ſoddiſ-
" fatione." E di ciò mandò a pregare il V. Caſtellano; quale fece riſpondere, che non aveva altro ordine di ſua Santità, ſe non di conſegnarlo alli Barigelli, ne poteva più oltre: al che il Cardinale non diſſe più altro ſtringendo le ſpalle, ſe non " Pa-
" zienza." E fatti uſcire tutti di camera ſi cominciò a confeſſare e ſtette in ciò un hora, e non havendo ancora finito, Gaſparino entrato in camera diſſe " Monſignore non po-
" tiamo aſpettar tanto, perchè ci è
" data un hora determinata quale
" non poſſiamo preterire, e poi ha-
" biamo altro da fare." Riſpoſe il Cardinale, " Ohimè che coſa è queſta,
" non mi volete dar tempo che mi
" conſigli con Dio? havendo fatta la
" confeſſione laſciatemi dire certe
" mie devotioni, che ſoglio dire
" ogni giorno." E domandato il ſuo Cappellano, aſſieme con eſſo e detto

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Confeſſore, diſſe forte i ſette ſalmi, e doppo diſſe certe orationi ſecrete, meſſoſi in ginocchioni avanti un crocifiſſo d' argento, che aveva in camera; quali non havendo ancora compite, Gaſparino più importunamente che prima ſollecitava, replicandoli il medeſimo che aveva detto di ſopra. Compite le orazioni il Cardinale chiamato il confeſſore ſi riconciliò e doppo diſſe: "Fate quello che havete "a fare" e pigliato detto crocifiſſo appreſſo, baciandolo e ſoſpirando, diceva "O Dio, O Dio che paſſo è "queſto—O Dio perdonatemi." All' hora i Barigelli fattolo ſedere ſopra una ſedia e voltatoli una corda al collo, il Boia con un baſtone comminciò a ſtringere et a ſtorcere, dicendo tuttavia il Cardinale, "In manus "tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum "meum" e ſtentando un pezzo, ſi ruppe la corda; il Cardinale accorgendoſene un poco diſſe "non mi fate ſten-

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" tare;" onde rappezzata la corda medeſima, et aggiuſtandola, il manigoldo moſtrando pena di ſtrozzare ſtette più di mezz' hora l' infelice Cardinale prima moriſſe.

Morto, fu ſpogliato della pelliccia e del ſaio, voltorono in un lenzuolo il cadavere, e lo portorono alla Traſpontina, dove lo poſero in un monumento ſotto il Pergamo, dal quale cavandolo, la notte del dì ſeguente fu portato dalla ſua famiglia alla chieſa della Minerva nella Cappella della Sant^{ma}. Annunciata dove fù poſto in depoſito.

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LETTER OF BEATRICE CENCI,

WITH REMARKS ON HER PORTRAIT BY GUIDO.

COMMUNICATED

BY MR. EDWARD CHENEY.

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BEATRICE CENCI.

IT has been obſerved, and perhaps not without truth, that the intereſt which the melancholy fate of Charles I. has excited, is to be attributed leſs to his misfortunes than to the beautiful repreſentations of him which have been multiplied by the pencil of Vandyk throughout the galleries and palaces of Europe, and which ſeem to make a perpetual proteſt againſt the cruelty and injuſtice of his perſecutors.

Beatrice Cenci is not leſs indebted for the commiſeration of poſterity to the ſurpaſſing type of beauty which bears her name in the gallery of the Barberini palace at Rome.

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The authenticity of this picture, however, has been queſtioned. That it is painted by Guido is, I believe, inconteſtable; but there is little evidence excepting tradition to prove that it repreſents the Cenci.

Sir John Simeon, in a note upon his intereſting account (ſee the fourth Volume of our Miſcellany) of her trial and execution, obſerves "that "Shelley ſpoke of the celebrated "portrait as exiſting in the Co-"lonna palace inſtead of that of "the Barberini, where it now is, "and where he believes it has "always exiſted, and he concludes "that the memory of the poet "has deceived him." Shelley is, however, perfectly correct, and the fact itſelf is by no means unimportant. Since he wrote the picture has been transferred from the Colonna to the Barberini collection. The Princeſs Barberini, as daughter

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and co-heireſs of the laſt Conſtable Colonna, divided the unentailed portion of the picture-gallery with her two ſiſters, the Princeſs Roſpiglioſi and the Ducheſs Lante, and to her this celebrated portrait was adjudged. It was originally painted for the Colonna family, and its authenticity derives from this circumſtance its beſt ſupport. The Colonna family was cloſely allied to that of the Cenci; and it is not probable that a ſpurious portrait was ſuffered to paſs in their palace for an original. It is poſſible alſo that the intereſt of a powerful and influential family might have been ſufficient to obtain acceſs for the painter to the beautiful priſoner, for the purpoſe of drawing her likeneſs; but as no mention is made of this circumſtance, and as the ſeverity of her impriſonment was exceſſive, it is, I muſt admit, very improbable.

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It is not improbable, however, that Guido,* who was at Rome at the time of the execution, might have witneſſed her paſſage from the priſon to the ſcaffold (the concourſe on that occaſion was prodigious), and, if ſo, her extraordinary beauty might, nay *muſt* have made a deep impreſſion on the ſuſceptible imagination of the young painter; and nothing is more probable than that he ſhould have endeavoured to perpetuate the beautiful viſion on his return to his painting room.

That the perſon here repreſented did impreſs him very deeply, whoever it may be, is proved by the reproduction of the ſame features and coſtume in ſeveral of his ſubſequent

* Guido was born in 1574; he was conſequently 25 years old when the Cenci were executed in 1599. He viſited Rome in his youth, and reſided there ſeveral years. He died in 1642.

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pictures. The portrait, moreover, bears a ſtrong reſemblance to the deſcription given of the unhappy Beatrice in the various manuſcript accounts of her fate, and the tradition in the Colonna family is of ſufficient weight to juſtify us in entertaining a belief which is ſo peculiarly agreeable.

The autograph letter which I reprint as a contribution to the preſent Volume of our Miſcellany is, I believe, the only exiſting record of her, which can claim undoubted authenticity. It was addreſſed by her to the judge of the criminal court and has been preſerved in the archives of the Count Cenci-Bolognetti at Rome, who repreſents the family in the female line, and is ſtill in poſſeſſion of a portion of their property.

This copy was procured for me by the kindneſs of a friend who holds the office of Archiviſta (keeper of the archives) in that family.

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"M. Ill^re Sigre. mio Oss^mo,

"Son certa che V. S. fà tanto "che non è possibile di far più uma- "namente; mi piace che il proceso "sia pigliato, e del resto lasaro fare "al Sig^re Prospero Farinacio e V. S. "che son certa fa di core; veda per "lamor di Dio aiutarci come sem- "pre a fato e degnato* . . . vengi "un poco qui da noi che meglio si "potrà parlare e li baso la mano "questo dì 22 di Agosto 1599.

"Di V. S. M. Ill^re.

"Per servirla

"Beatrice Cenci."

* Here the manuscript is illegible from tears having blotted it.

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SUPPLEMENT

TO THE HISTORIC DOUBTS

ON THE LIFE AND REIGN OF

KING RICHARD III.

WITH REMARKS ON SOME ANSWERS

THAT HAVE BEEN MADE

TO THAT WORK.

"Quoth Hudibras, I now perceive
You are no conjuror by your leave,
That paltry ſtory is untrue,
And forged to cheat ſuch gulls as you."
HUD. pt. ii. canto 3.

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PREFATORY NOTICE.

I PROCURED the MS. from which the following pages are printed, ſeveral years ſince, from White, a well-known bookſeller, then reſiding in Pall Mall. He had bought it of Miſs Berry, into whoſe poſſeſſion it had come with many other MSS. and printed books of Horace, Earl of Orford.

I am afraid that it will rather be conſidered an ingenious piece of ſpecial pleading, than a valuable contribution to Engliſh Hiſtory; but the author had evidently taken pains with it: and it is carefully tranſcribed in his own handwriting for the preſs.

There are two very elaborate refutations of the former portion of the

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Hiſtoric Doubts. The firſt by Hume in Note M. on the reign of Henry VII; the ſecond by Gibbon: Remarques touchant les doutes Hiſtoriques ſur la Vie et la Règne du Roi Richard III. This Treatiſe is printed in the 3rd vol. of the 8vo. edition of Gibbon's Miſcellaneous Works, pages 341-349.

The firſt of theſe critiques Walpole endeavoured to anſwer in the following pages, but not that of Gibbon, which probably he had not ſeen. It was, however, written one year before the ſupplement to the *Hiſtoric Doubts.*

It is ſtrange that Perkin ſhould have been received as he was by the Ducheſs of Burgundy, had ſhe believed him to be an impoſtor: but ſhe had already favoured the impoſture of Lambert Simnel, whoſe attempt was ſo contemptible, that Henry ſpared his life as unworthy

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his vengeance. Lingard ſeems to have ſuggeſted a plauſible reaſon for her conduct, and that of other Yorkiſts. They deſpaired of releaſing the Earl of Warwick from priſon; but, if Perkin's impoſture had ſucceeded, Warwick might have been delivered. Perkin might then have been caſt off, and Warwick placed on the throne. This, however, will hardly account for the conduct of the Scotch King, who gave him a near relation in marriage. We muſt ſuppoſe that *he* was really deceived. It is worthy of remark, that Perkin was not executed, until Warwick had eſcaped with him.

The original MS. is now placed in Eton College Library.

E. C. H.

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HISTORIC DOUBTS ON THE LIFE AND REIGN OF KING RICHARD III.

WHEN I publiſhed my *Doubts* on the reign of King Richard the Third, I concluded from the obſcurity of the ſubject, and from my own want of ability and ſuperficial knowledge of our ſtory, that men of deeper reading and maſters of ſounder reaſoning woud eaſily overthrow my arguments (tho' offered but as Doubts) and would deſtroy what foundations I had pretended to lay, tho' corroborated by ſome facts, and eſtabliſhed on ſome new and not wholly deſpicable materials. To this limitation, for the ſake of Truth and of clear-

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ing up a very dark and intricate period, I was ready to ſubmit. I wiſhed to ſee a fooliſh and abſurd tale removed from the pages of our graveſt Hiſtorians; and flattered myſelf, that not only the ridiculous and incoherent parts of the legend would be given up by men of ſenſe: but that ſome able writer would deign to ſtate the whole matter in ſo clear and conſiſtent a manner, that not only my *Doubts* (which indeed are of little importance to any body) would be removed, but that the hiſtory of that period would receive ſuch ſatisfactory, at leaſt probable lights, as woud prevent the Reign of Richard from diſgracing our annals by an intruſion of mob ſtories and childiſh improbabilities, which at preſent in our beſt hiſtorians place that reign on a level with the ſtory of Jack the Giant-killer.

The remoteneſs of the time in

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queſtion gave me thoſe hopes. I ſhoud not indeed have been ſo weak as to flatter myſelf, while the ſpirit of Party is ſtill in full vigour, that any conceſſions on later reigns woud be made to a candid enquirer after Truth. That perverſe ſpirit will-fully blind, adheres obſtinately to the ſacred diſputes of our Anceſtors, and renders our Hiſtory but a more bulky compilation of controverſial pamphlets. To this hour the reigns of the Stuarts, the moſt ignominious period of our annals, are defended, juſtified, varniſhed, nay, panegyricized, by able writers, as well as by the moſt contemptible; as if that diſgraceful Succeſſion was the favorite portion of our Hiſtory with our favorite Hiſtorians. Elizabeth and Cromwell, who, with all their faults, raiſed the honour of our Country, and made it the terror of foreign nations, conſoling us at leaſt by national glory

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for national ſervitude, are depreſſed and vilified, in compliment to a deſpicable race, who with equal ambition were deſtitute of every talent to ſupport it, and who naturally ſunk in the eſteem of Europe, as faſt as they loſt the hearts and reſpect of their own ſubjects.

The ſatisfaction I expected, nobody has deigned to give me: and were I ſo vain as to conclude, becauſe my arguments have *not* been anſwered, that therefore they are unanſwerable, I might indulge myſelf in the deluſion of thinking that I have done ſome ſervice to our hiſtory in clearing away a load of rubbiſh, that had obtained a preſcriptive right of lying in the way of Hiſtorians, merely becauſe it had been careleſſly thrown there by Writers, whoſe very dirt and mortar paſſed for building. Far from ſuch preſumption, I am perſuaded that my *Doubts* have not

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ſeemed to deſerve an anſwer from thoſe who are capable of giving one. To ſuch men I muſt have appeared a paradoxical Writer; and the ſtory of Richard the 3rd, with all its abſurdities, is ſtill deemed authentic, *becauſe* S^r^ Thomas More, who wrote it in his youth, proved afterwards a very great Man; and becauſe Lord Bacon, who copied it afterwards into a fulſome panegyric, and who however connected the original ſilly account without making it conſiſtent, was the Founder of modern philoſophy, and as bright a genius as ever ſhone in the Orb of Literature. Nobody reſpects ſuch great names more than I do. Yet if whatever fell from the pen of More be Holy writ, why ſhould we not embrace his religion as well as his Hiſtory? In his graver years he fell into all the follies of enthuſiaſm and bigotry, which he had ridiculed in his youth. I have ſhown

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many palpable falſities in his hiſtory. It is a poor refuge to ſet up his name againſt his miſtakes; and methinks of all men living a ſceptic Philoſopher is the laſt one ſhoud expect to find pinning his faith on the ſleeve of reverend authority. Lord Bacon is ſtill leſs intituled to our implicit aſſent.

To ſay nothing of his ſlaviſh flattery to his living maſters, can That man be received as an hiſtorian of unqueſtionable veracity who has laboured to conſecrate the memory of Henry 7th, and held forth the meaneſt Tyrant as the model of political wiſdom? Such Hiſtorians ſtain the records of truth, and no talents can reſcue their characters from contempt. To enſhrine guilt is ſinning againſt virtue and wounding Poſterity. Tyrants are lulled with the hopes of finding ſimilar panegyriſts: and as hiſtory is the tribunal at which

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all Princes muſt appear, ſhall the Bad dare to hope for advocates at that Bar? Shall Henry the 7th of England and Henry the 4th of France receive the ſame palm from the ſame judicatory? I am ſorry to be forced to repeat theſe arguments, having mentioned them before; but ſuch magic is there in great names, and it is ſo commode to uſe them inſtead of reaſons, that one is obliged to expoſe the futility of ſuch authorities when they are made the ſtandard of Truth againſt Truth itſelf.

When I ſaid that my arguments had not received an anſwer, I did not mean that my book had not been anſwered. It has been treated like the works of much better Authors, and been attended both with that abuſe and compliment that are eſſentially neceſſary to flatter a Writer with the hopes of not being forgotten. I am very grateful for both,

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and equally ſatisfied with having offended ſome, and pleaſed others of my Readers.

The firſt marks of diſapprobation were conveyed in the *Critical Review*. I was ſeverely reproved by that Monthly Court for not having taken due notice of Mr. Guthrie's Hiſtory of England. The charge I acknowledge was juſt. When I examined the ſtory of Richard the 3rd, it is true that I conſulted the living works of dead authors, not the dead works of living authors. And it ought to be ſome palliation of my offence, that I not only had never ſeen Mr. Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, but had never met with a ſingle perſon that had read it. It had remained a profound ſecret to mortal eyes; or was conſumed by thoſe all-devouring enemies of the ingenious, time and the oven. However, I am ſincerely ſorry for my neglect; and

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the more, as I find by the Review, that my misfortune did not conſiſt in differing with Mr. Guthrie, but in happening to be of the ſame opinion. It ſeems, Mr. Guthrie, long before the appearance of my *Doubts*, had condemned great part of the traditional hiſtory of Richard as a fable. It was therefore preſumptuous in me to be as ſagacious as ſo inimitable a Writer; or a grievous affront not to acknowledge that he had previouſly ſtarted the ſame opinion. Why he ſhould be ambitious of ſingularity I do not know. The more perſons ſee through an abſurdity, the more probable it is that the abſurdity exiſts. Indeed, when an author has compiled our annals, I find that he looks upon the whole Hiſtory of England as his property. It is an invaſion of his freehold to conteſt a ſingle fact that he has occupied. Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Hume aſſert their

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right to the whole manor. Mr. Guthrie will not ſuffer me to agree with him, nor Mr. Hume to diſagree with him. When they have adjuſted their title among themſelves, I will ſwear to the lawfull Monarch. In the mean time I hope I may be allowed to treat one of them at leaſt as a Pretender. To the abuſe with which theſe litterary Inquiſitors the Reviewers, have honoured me, I acquieſce with gratitude. Not only in the caſe in queſtion, but on other occaſions they have obliged me with that cenſure which bad Authors, turned to Critics, are ſo apt to paſs on better writers than themſelves. I have had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing my trifling writings riſe in the favour of the Public, in proportion as they have been condemned by thoſe judicious Gentlemen, who are ſo laborious and kind, as for a ſhilling a month to inform their humble auditors

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what they ſhoud think of every book, which the latter never read. May it ever be my Fate (ſhoud I again attempt to amuſe the Public) to paſs through the innoxious flames of ſuch Criticiſm; ſecure of loſing no part of my little merit by being grinned and mouthed at by as groteſque Imps, as thoſe that pipe and drum in the pictures of Teniers, to divert one ſhould think, rather than terrify St. Antony.

As I look on abuſe as a flattering tribute paid by wounded or impotent enemies, ſo I am apt to ſuſpect that when an author is profuſe of compliments to his adverſary, he really but laughs in ſecret at his opponent's abilities, and exalts them officiouſly, in order to render his own triumph more conſpicuous.

Next to the capital offence of not having conſulted Mr. Guthrie's departed hiſtory, I ſeem to have diſ-

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guſted him or his champions by having treated diſreſpectfully ſome ancient Chroniclers, particularly

Thoſe Claſſics of an age
That knew of none,

Ingulphus, Matthew Paris, William of Malmſbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and Hoveden; tho by the way I have never mentioned them.

It woud puzzle me, I am told, to produce a Latin Hiſtorian *now alive*, ſuperior to William of Malmeſbury, with regard to ſpirit, ſentiment, and authenticity, nay, in the beauty of compoſition and elegance of diction. It woud puzzle me indeed as except Buonamici's I did not know that our modern hiſtories were written in Latin. If they are, I offer them as an oblation one and all to the ſhades of the elegant Ingulphus, and as elegant Mr. Guthrie, the latter of whom for ought I know may have written his hiſtory in Latin too.

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Nay, from one paſſage I have ſome ſuſpicion he may have written it in Greek, the thought being freely Anacreontic. He ſuſpects that the Duke of Clarence was not drowned in a butt of Malmſey, but died of drinking that Wine. The figure is a little bold, and above the common pitch of an Antiquary; but Poets and Antiquaries are equally adventurous in their conjectures: and as the Criticiſm is excellent, no doubt it will meet with proper reſpect from all thoſe learned perſons, who ſhall re-write our hiſtory.

If it would not be trifling with my Readers, I would mention another paſſage containing a thought not leſs new. The critic ſays that S^r^ Thomas More never did deſerve *but in death* the name he has obtained for ſincerity and honeſty. How a man can deſerve the character of Honeſty in death, who never deſerved it in his

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life is totally paſt my comprehenſion.

Having for ſome pages reſented my agreement with him, Mr. Guthrie takes a ſhort turn, and undertakes the condemnation of Richard againſt me, for fear I ſhoud not be in the wrong both ways. His chief argument againſt himſelf and me *that Tirrel certainly murdered the two Princes*, is drawn from the propriety of his being a perſon fit for the Office. How is this made out? I had ſhown that inſtead of being the low fool deſcribed by S^r^ Thomas More, Tirrel was a man of great note, and in high employment. How does Mr. Guthrie deſtroy this argument? by producing a commiſſion to prove that Tirrel was a much greater man than I had repreſented him, having even in King Edward's time been appointed one of the Commiſſioners for exerciſing the office of High

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Conſtable of England. I thankfully accept this teſtimony againſt Sr Thomas More: it certainly does demonſtrate that Tirrel was not a mean fellow, a comrade of the Page, who, Sr Thomas ſays, recommended him as a fit inſtrument for a ſecret aſſaſſination.—Now let us ſee how I can defend Mr. Guthrie and myſelf againſt Mr. Guthrie.

A clauſe, ſays Mr. Guthrie, was omitted in the renewal of the patent which allowed to the Commiſſioners Clerks to take down the minutes of the proceedings, &c. *Had not Tirrel*, continues he, *with ſuch a commiſſion ſome reaſon to think he was ſafe againſt all legal impeachments in the following reign?* As all Richard's acts were in the following reign deemed the acts of an Uſurper and conſequently cancelled in effect, I ſhoud think not. But I cannot from what Tirrel might think deduce any manner of argu-

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ment for ſhowing that he was the murderer! But, ſays Mr. Guthrie, by the omiſſion of Clerks, Tirrel, or whoever the murderer was, had no occaſion to call in any aſſiſtance or Clerks. As I am defending Mr. Guthrie as well as myſelf, he will allow us to ſay, that inſtead of argument, this is downright nonſenſe. Does the command over aſſiſtants aid or defeat murder? or becauſe a Commiſſioner has Clerks, is he obliged by law to enjoin them co-operation in murder? *By having no Clerks*, ſays he, *he had no occaſion to call in any aſſiſtance.* Suppoſe my Lord Commiſſioner Tirrel had had Clerks, does Mr. Guthrie think they woud have ſued him for not employing them in aſſaſſination? But here are words more ſtrange; *Tirrel or whoever the murderer was.* Mr. Guthrie then it ſeems doubts after all whether Tirrel was the real criminal or not.

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Obſerve how that very doubt makes him flounder out of one abſurdity into another. By Tirrel's having no Clerks, the murderer *whoever he was* had no occaſion to call in any aſſiſtance: *ergo*, if Tirrel was *not* the murderer, whoever was, had no occaſion to call in any aſſiſtance, becauſe the Lord High Conſtable *pro tempore* happened to have no Clerks. Thus do materials but ſerve to overſet a head that knows not how to digeſt them! and this is the Hiſtorian that I am cenſured for not having conſulted!

Mr. Guthrie is much happier in the application of materials that he has *not* met with. *The Lady Eleanor Butler*, ſays he, *acquitted the King of any promiſe in open Court*. This is a bold aſſertion. I woud aſk with ſubmiſſion in what court that cauſe was tried, and where the Record exiſts? So indefatigable a hunter after

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ancient game no doubt can inform us where he diſcovered the minutes of the trial. Sure he did not adopt this random information from the authors he condemns, and who he ſays* *wrote under the influence of the Houſe of Lancaſter*. Nothing was then thought too mean, however falſe it might be, for flattering the reigning powers. If Mr. Guthrie is maſter of more authentic intelligence on this article, he will no doubt produce it.

In one point I acknowledge he has corrected me juſtly. I mentioned the Duke of Albany being with Richard at York as a preſumption that Richard was on good terms with the Court of Scotland, whereas, ſays Mr. Guthrie, and he is in the right, the Duke of Albany lived then in exile, being on bad terms with his brother

* Critical Review, No. 145, p. 121, in the note from Guthrie.

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James 3rd. I beg the Reader to ſubſtract as much weight from the chain of my argument, as this miſtake had made on his mind. Let this recantation evince that I am neither obſtinate nor incorrigible. Had I met with either one fact or argument more in the writings of my opponents of equal weight, I ſhould have yielded with the ſame facility. To adhere to what one cannot maintain, eſpecially on ſo unimportant a ſubject as the hiſtory of Richard, woud betray a vanity that expects the World ſhoud acquieſce in our weakneſs or prejudices, and a mind too diſingenuous to acknowledge itſelf capable of miſtakes.

My next adverſary was a very civil Gentleman, who did me the honour of anſwering my *Doubts* in a volume as large as my own. He paid me ſo many compliments, that I beg he will call upon me for the full debt,

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whenever he has occaſion for the like number.

Not ſo the Third. Determined upon the ruin of my Work, and at the ſame time diſcreetly allowing ſufficient intervals to his Readers to digeſt his cenſures, he retailed them in that vehicle of univerſal and diſtributive Juſtice, the *London Chronicle*. His friends, he ſaid, had, indeed, perſuaded him to collect the ſcattered leaves into a juſt volume—and he flattered the world with the hopes of his compliance. Might I preſume to ſubſcribe to their opinion I woud intreat him to indulge their wiſhes; eſpecially as he broke off exactly in that part of my Work in which I had placed the ſtrength of my argument. Content however with the ſample he had given of his abilities, he concluded the world would give him credit from what he had done for what he was able to do.

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As a ſpecimen of thoſe abilities, I ſhall from many of equally cogent logic ſelect one inſtance. It will ſuffice to ſhow why I am unwilling to encounter ſo tremendous a foe; at the ſame time that I do not feel myſelf ſufficiently warmed by his paſſionate expreſſions to anſwer them with equal fury. Perhaps this Author too may have written his Hiſtory of England and cannot forgive my not having quoted it. From the painſtaking Compiler who is twenty five years in compoſing half a reign, to the Gazetteer, who transfuſes old Hiſtorians into weekly numbers as faſt as his Printer can deſpatch them, the Cohort of Engliſh Hiſtorians is become ſo extenſive a fraternity that Life is not long enough, though we ſhoud do nothing but read our own ſtory in their various modifications of it. The paſſage I hinted at is in the *Chronicle* of March 12th, 1768.

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The critic has diſcovered there that when the Hiſtorian ſays Prince Edward [ſon of Henry 6th] was murdered by the ſervants of Edward 4th, we may eaſily ſuppoſe he meant the King's *Brothers*, for ſays he, *judiciouſly*, are not the King's Brothers the King's ſervants? Let me aſk this angry and ſhrewd perſon, whether, if he was to read in the *Daily Advertiſer* that his Majeſty went to the Opera attended by *his Servants*, he ſhoud underſtand that his Majeſty's royal *Brothers* walked before his chair?

I have heard that *omne majus continet in ſe minus;* but this is the firſt time I have ſeen that propoſition inverted. It was a cruel friend that adviſed this Author to reprint ſuch lucubrations.

Having diſpatched theſe ſkirmiſhers with perhaps more notice than they deſerved, I muſt now turn to

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another kind of Adverſary, to one from whom I differ with regret and whoſe talents I cannot encounter without fear: one whoſe knowledge is only excelled by his power of employing it: whoſe ſagacity may nod tho it cannot be impoſed upon: and who is more able to defend a bad cauſe, than I am to do juſtice to a good one. One who could ſip the muddy ſtreams of Ingulphus and Hovenden without being intoxicated with them; and who, if it woud have ſerved any political purpoſe, coud have caſt ſuch a plauſible veil over the deformities of Richard, that my attempt to reſcue his character from obloquy had been needleſs and impotent, when compared with what his maſterly hand woud have performed. Grieved I am therefore to think that what his taſte made him neglect, he ſhoud not ſuffer to be executed, in however inferior a

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manner, by me. Yet what makes *him* averſe from ſeeing *any* King white-waſhed? Have I violated the aſhes of his favorite Martyr, I mean as they are enſhrined in his volumes? The profane Mrs. Macauley has proved the groſs inſincerity of that Monarch. She had detected our Author's beloved Clarendon in numberleſs willfull falſehoods—nay, ſhe has not treated our Author himſelf with much ceremony. Yet ſhe remains unanſwered, and her arguments, built on records and inconteſtable authorities, ſeem like a rock to defy his aſſaults. My poor tribute to Royalty is the only mite that is rejected. A notice however I cannot but eſteem a ſingular honour, as amidſt a hoſt of adverſaries of various ſorts, I am the only one to whom I think our Author has ever deigned to make a reply. In truth, if the paſſages I am going to examine, are to be re-

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garded as a ſpecimen of his polemic talents, he will forgive me, I hope, for ſaying, that he was not only in the right to ſelect the weakeſt of his Adverſaries, but prudent in abſtaining from a warfare in which his greateſt force does not ſeem to lie.

After the firſt guſh of Opponents whom I have mentioned, my *Doubts* ſeemed to have nothing further to fear than oblivion. I thought my work as much forgotten, as I had forgotten my adverſaries. I neither cared about them nor King Richard. How was I ſurpriſed the other day on receiving a preſent of a French Swiſs Journal from the learned* Author himſelf, in which the firſt thing in the book was a Criticiſm on my *Doubts*. I call it Criticiſm in deference to the Author, tho the

* Monſieur Diverdun, author of Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne pour les années 1767 et 1768.

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whole, like other Reviews, is chiefly compoſed of extracts from my Work; and, unlike other Reviews, of ſuch a torrent of encomiums on myſelf as made me bluſh for the miſtaken good nature of the Author, and for my own demerit, which is ill intituled to ſuch incenſe. Indeed any vanity I might have conceived from this panegyric was greatly lowered by a paſſage at the end of the book, in which the Author modeſtly owns that he does not much admire the works of Dr. Swift. Coud I be greatly flatterd with the approbation of a gentleman who has ſo little taſte as to diſlike Dr. Swift and to admire me? How qualified is this kind perſon to ſit in judgement on books who gives us ſuch a criterion of his diſtinguiſhing faculties?

If I found myſelf overwhelmed with praiſe, I was not leſs aſtoniſhed to find at the end of his Criticiſm

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two or three pages drawn up by Mr. Hume in anſwer to my *Doubts*, and beſtowed on the Journaliſt to help him in pronouncing ſentence. He pronounces it accordingly, and declares me guilty of ſpecious but falſe reaſoning, and decides the victory in favour of Mr. Hume on the evidence collected from the latter's own notes.

The Notes thus crept into the World are in French. Many months ago Mr. Hume gave me a ſight of them in Engliſh, and I then told him what I muſt repeat now, that I thought I never ſaw more un-ſubſtantial arguments. As he is of a different opinion, and as I am now at liberty to take them to pieces, I ſhall make bold to ſhow that they are not only no anſwer to my reaſonings, which remain in full force, but that, if they are the beſt confutation Mr. Hume can make of my book, it had been wiſer to let it ſink or ſwim as it

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coud, inſtead of heaping conjectures on improbabilities, and thereby leading our Readers to ſee, that he not only avoided giving anſwers to my ſtrongeſt arguments, but had raſhly taken up an idle ſtory without examination, and now is at a loſs how to defend it.

Before I enter on the diſcuſſion of Mr. Hume's notes, I muſt make one or two ſhort obſervations. Having remarked how ſhallow the authorities were on which the hiſtory of Richard is built, I thought myſelf warranted to call much of it in queſtion. Bucke, Carte, and it ſeems Mr. Guthrie, had preceded me in rejecting the received account. Some new lights had accidentally flowed in. Still I propoſed my ſentiments but as *Doubts*—and yet have been told that I have not *proved* my Hypotheſis. If I had *proved* it I ſhould not have *doubted.* My adverſaries on the other ſide ſeem to think that

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aſſertions and repetitions will ſerve for proofs where facts and reaſons are wanting. The beſt reaſoner and greateſt ſceptic amongſt them has for once liſted under ſuch mob-banners, and coolly retails the very ſame kind of logic againſt me that has ſo often been waſted in vain againſt himſelf. I own there is much difference between us; our abilities are as unequal as our bodily proweſs: a feather may fell me; he can reſiſt a broad ſword.

My next obſervation is, that Mr. Hume reſts the whole of his confutation on the ſingle fact of the murder of the Children. Whether he allows that I have cleared Richard's character from the other murders, he leaves me uncertain. What does this ſilence imply? Am I to infer from it that he gives up all the reſt, tho he had adopted into his hiſtory many of thoſe idle tales? Or am I to con-

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clude that he deſpiſes my arguments? but ſo he does with regard to Perkin Warbeck. He endeavours to eſtabliſh that impoſture, but does not attempt to refute the reaſons I have brought to ſupport Perkin's being the true Duke of York. I challenged him to reconcile the contradictions in the ſtory: he reverts to great names, as if names were arguments. Are all the murders charged on Richard ſupported by one and the ſame authority? Does Mr. Hume think that if he proves one, all the reſt follow of courſe? or does he hope to rehabilitate the credit of his hiſtory by attempting to ſhow that in one point he has not been miſtaken or lightly credulous? I muſt leave it to his own candor to anſwer theſe queſtions, and ſhall now ſhow that if he has no better arguments in ſtore than what he has bounteouſly beſtowed on his friend the journaliſt, or thought

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good enough both for him and me, the aſſumption of Perkin Warbeck being the true ſon of Edward the 4th will gain new ſtrength by the trifling arguments ſo great a man as Mr. Hume has been reduced to bring on the contrary ſide of the queſtion.

The firſt Note ſays that *in general there reigns a great obſcurity in the circumſtances of the war between the two Roſes.* I allow it. My *Doubts* ſprung from that obſcurity. *But*, continues he, *the narrative of S*r *Thomas More throws great lights over all the tranſactions of the reign of Richard*, and over the murder of the two young Princes, his nephews. This is begging the very queſtion in diſpute. *The magnanimity, the probity, and the great ſenſe of that author confirm his teſtimony; and there is no hiſtorian ancient or modern who ought to have more weight.* I muſt here ſtop in the middle of this note. In

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the firſt place I do not preciſely know the meaning of *Magnanimity*. It is a pompous but empty word often employed by another modern hiſtorian in lieu of qualities more eaſily to be defined. When Henry the 2nd had been overreached, bubbled, baffled, humbled by Becket, and conſequently coud no longer paſs for wiſe, provident, or firm, his Panegyriſt ſalves all with that bombaſt and vague epithet *Magnanimous:* happen what woud, his Magnanimity was invulnerable. But if *Magnanimity* is ridiculous in the mouth *of* an Hiſtorian, it is ſtill more abſurd when applied *to* an Hiſtorian. What has *Magnanimity* to do with that character? and in what ſenſe does it confirm his teſtimony? S^r^ T. More's *Probity* will prove as little, if I have ſhown that he has given falſe evidence. Let Mr. Hume before he quotes S^r^ Thomas's probity refute the charge

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that I have brought againſt him from facts. A man cannot be a faithfull Hiſtorian if he perverts wilfully, or miſtakes facts ignorantly; nor, I ſhoud think, woud Mr. Hume allow in general that the *probity* of a Bigot qualifies him for a ſincere Hiſtorian. Where was S^r^ Thomas's *probity* or his *great ſenſe* when he was the Dupe of the holy Maid of Kent? Mr. Hume too, now become fond of Authority, amaſſes all Sir Thomas's great qualities in the various parts of his life, to ſupport a hiſtory which More wrote in the very early part of his life, at twenty eight. I had remarked this; but Mr. Hume did not chuſe to make the diſtinction. By a flouriſh, and tacitly ſinking the era of the compoſition, he woud lead his readers to believe that the ſtory of Richard the 3rd was written by More in the grave and ſedate part of his life, and

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bequeathed to poſterity with all the ſanction that the Impreſs of the Stateſman and Martyr coud beſtow on it. Young Mr. More, under ſheriff of London, is the Hiſtorian Mr. Hume equals with Tacitus, Davila, Thuanus, and all the unqueſtioned Authors of ancient and modern ages! Yet ſtill the queſtion is not whether Sir T. More lived near the time, but whether his narrative is a competent and probable account.

I have queſtioned his competency, and proved him guilty of ignorant or willfull miſtakes. Is it an anſwer worthy of an able Reaſoner to tell us tell us that S^{r} T. More lived at or near the time, and that as we have no better account we muſt believe his? Does Mr. Hume then believe all improbabilities becauſe delivered by Cotemporaries, and becauſe he can find no better? Is he under ſuch a neceſſity, has he ſuch an alacrity of

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believing, that abſurdities with him are preferable to doubting? Muſt he have an unbroken chain of Hiſtory repoſited in his Head, be that hiſtory what it will, true or falſe, marvellous or rational? In theologic controverſy Divines often repeat, that where you have no better teſtimony, you muſt take up with what you have. Does Mr. Hume allow this doctrine? I thought he knew that the accuracy of modern Criticiſm had eſtabliſhed two kinds of evidence, the *external* and the *internal;* and that the former, however reſpectable, is often called in queſtion when repugnant to the latter. But were Mr. Hume's ſtill newer ſtandard of authority to take place, we ſhoud be compelled to believe the origin of Rome with its Mars, Rhea and the Wolfe, the marvels of Herodotus, and the fables of ancient Egypt: and in that caſe I doubt Mr. Hume

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would be embroiled with Voltaire, the Patriarch of Modern Sceptics, who has called in queſton a mob of aſſaſſinations and poyſonings far more credible than thoſe imputed to Richard the 3rd.

Mr. Hume continues; *we may juſtly regard him* [Sr T. M.] *even as a Cotemporary, for tho he was but five years old when the two Princes were maſſacred, he lived and was brought up among the chief actors of Richard's reign; and one ſees clearly by his recital, which is often very circumſtantial, that he received the particularities from ocular Witneſſes.*

This is again equally vague, unfair, and void of argument. Mr. Hume avoids ſpecifying that More received his information from Archbiſhop Morton, who I have proved was the moſt partial and ſuſpicious authority from whence More coud poſſibly

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draw his materials; and yet I defy him to ſhow the leaſt probability that More, a retainer of Morton, was likely to converſe with any other chief actor of that period. Is it better proof of an Author's veracity that he is very circumſtantial? If it is, why has Mr. Hume repoſed ſo little truſt in, quoted ſo little from, Wilſon, Weldon, Burnet and others, who give circumſtantial accounts of the vices, folly, falſhood and tyranny of four Stuarts? Is there a legend in the monkiſh writers that is not circumſtantial?

We cannot therefore, continues the note, *reject his authority, and it ought to weigh over a hundred light doubts, ſcruples and objections, for no ſolid objection has yet been brought againſt him, nor can he be convicted of any error.* This ſentence *ex cathedrâ* is ridiculous, and fulminated like many bulls againſt thoſe who do not ac-

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knowledge the papal authority. It is eaſy to ſay Doubts and ſcruples are light; if they are eaſily anſwered. Mr. Hume's infallibility is not more generally recognized than that of many Great Men whoſe authority he himſelf has ſet at nought. He will excuſe me therefore if I ſay he aſſerts only becauſe he cannot anſwer. Mr. Guthrie and I have ſhown that Sr Thomas More's account of Tirrel is an abſolute falſhood. It is proved from record that Tirrel was a great officer of the Crown, when More repreſents him as a low creature following the Court, but unknown to the King, an intimate of a nameleſs Page, and a fellow ready to be deſpatched on any baſe and ſudden aſſaſſination. Is this a light doubt, a trifling objection to More's veracity and competence? Sr Thomas adds, that Tirrel, a commiſſioner for executing the office of High Conſtable

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in the laſt reign, and actually Maſter of the Horſe at the period in queſtion, or as others ſay appointed ſo within a month, was kept down by Ratcliffe and Cateſby, neither of whom ever was Tirrel's equal, and one of whom I have proved was abſent at the time. If theſe are trifling objections, I invite Mr. Hume to anſwer them—yes, and to anſwer S^r^ T. More himſelf, who owns that there was nothing ſo plainly and openly proved but that yet men had it ever inwardly ſuſpect. Mr. Hume it ſeems, better informed than S^r^ Thomas More himſelf, knows that S^r^ Thomas was perfectly acquainted with the fact and all the circumſtances; and with equal confidence, equally unfounded, declares that *S^r^ Thomas cannot be convicted of any error!* It is with concern that I am forced to produce the remainder of the firſt note; nor can I conceive

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how Mr. Hume coud allow himſelf to make ſuch a miſrepreſentation of Sr T. More's evidence in the face of Sr Thomas's own words. *It is true*, ſays Mr. H. *that Sir Thomas declares that the Protector's partiſans, in particular Dr. Shaw, ſpread a report of a precontract between Edward 4th and Elizabeth Lucy, while it appears from records that the Parliament pronounced the children of Edward illegitimate, under the pretext of a pre-contract with the Lady Eleanor Butler. But*, continues Mr. H. *we muſt obſerve that no attempt was made to prove either of the contracts; and why ſhould not the Protector's flatterers and tools have ſpread ſometimes the one, and ſometimes the other of thoſe reports? More quotes both, and treats both as lightly as they deſerved. Mr. Carte thinks it incredible that Richard ſhoud have engaged Dr. Shaw openly to calumniate the Ducheſs*

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of York his mother, with whom he lived on good terms; but if in reality it is difficult to believe this, why ſhoud not we ſuppoſe that the Doctor taking the general matter of his ſermon from the Protector or his friends, choſe himſelf the particulars, and choſe them with little judgement? the diſgrace into which he afterwards fell ſeems to ſtrengthen this ſuppoſition.

I have tranſlated Mr. Hume's words as fairly and faithfully as I am able; and thus I anſwer them. On the authority of the Roll of Parliament I accuſed S^r^ Thomas More of ignorance or falſification in naming Elizabeth Lucy inſtead of Lady Eleanor Butler, and Mr. Hume is forced to admit the evidence, tho he woud fain avoid the concluſion. This he attempts by urging that S^r^ Thomas mentions both reports. I muſt own that with all my care I can find no one word in S^r^ Thomas

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relative to the Lady Butler, and woud be much obliged to Mr. Hume for pointing out the paſſage* to me. He alſo ſpeaks of Elizabeth Lucy as a report propagated by the Protector's tools and in Dr. Shaw's ſermon. Unfortunately S^r^ Thomas gives us a *circumſtantial* detail of a converſation between King Edward and his Mother, in which that Princeſs taxes him with a pre-contract with Elizabeth Lucy. Did the Protector's mother ſpread thoſe reports? Still further: the Ducheſs, ſays S^r^ Thomas, deviſed to diſturb this marriage [with the Widow Gray] and

* I have heard that it is mentioned ſomewhere in the Biographia Britannica, that, in a late edition of S^r^ T. More's Hiſtory, Eleanor Butler is inſerted inſtead of Elizabeth Lucy. My edition, which is of 1691, has no ſuch correction; and a correction more recent woud but prove that Sir Thomas More wrote Elizabeth Lucy, and that the groſſneſs of the miſtake induced ſome modern editor to reſtore the genuine name.

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rather to help that he ſhould marry one Dame Elizabeth Lucy, whom the King had alſo not long before gotten with child, and openly objected his marriage, as it were in diſcharge of her conſcience, that the King was ſure to Dame Elizabeth Lucy." Surely, ſurely, Mr. Hume, this is not a report ſpread by the Protector's tools, but by that very Mother whom Richard is accuſed of aſperſing too—and ſo conſiſtent is your circumſtantial oracle, that in one place he aſcribes the report to Richard, and in another to the Ducheſs of York. And am I now unfounded in ſaying that S^r^ Thomas More affirmed deliberately of Elizabeth Lucy what related to Eleanor Butler? What follows is ſtill ſtronger; "By "reaſon of which words ſuch ob- "ſtacle was made in the matter, "that either the Biſhops durſt not, "or the King woud not proceed to

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" the ſolemnization of this wedding,
" till theſe ſame were clearly purged
" and the truth well and openly teſti-
" fied. Whereupon Dame Eliza-
" beth Lucy was ſent for, and con-
" feſſed they were never married.

" This examination," adds Sr Thomas, " was ſolemnly taken." I aſk, if this proves that Dr. Shaw choſe the particulars without judgement? and I aſk, if what is here ſaid by More is not a willfull or miſtaken falſhood? But, ſays Mr. Hume, no attempt was made to prove either of the contracts—no! Does not Sr Thomas here directly affirm that the Biſhops refuſed to marry the King, till the examination was ſolemnly taken? Which are we to believe, the infallible Chancellor, or his determined Advocate! Mr. Guthrie goes farther, and relating the ſame ſtory of the Lady Butler, affirms, as we have ſeen, that ſhe denied any

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precontract in open Court. So clear is this whole ſtory, after being circumſtantially related by Sr Thomas More from ocular Witneſſes! I leave this part to be adjuſted as it may be by Sr Thomas, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Guthrie, and proceed to the article of Dr. Shaw, of which Mr. Hume is not much happier in his ſolution.

Mr. Hume, not quite clear whether Mr. Carte is in the right or the wrong, in not believing that the Protector aſperſed his own Mother, tho I produced two original papers to prove that he lived in the Houſe with her at the very time of the ſuppoſed calumny, and continued on good terms with her, deſires us to ſuppoſe that Dr. Shaw was prompted by the Protector in general, but did not chuſe his materials judiciouſly. He has gueſſed that *both* the reports of Lucy and Butler were ſpread by the Protector's Agents.

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This is ſuppoſing that a ſenſible man and artfull Uſurper made choice of very bungling tools, becauſe ſpreading both reports woud have been the ſureſt way of contradicting both reports.

But on this point I have better evidence, even that of Sr Thomas himſelf againſt Mr. Hume, who ſays, "the Protector woud that the "matter ſhoud be *touched aſlope craf-* "*tily.*" *One may ſee clearly* [to uſe Mr. Hume's own words] that Sr Thomas is ſo circumſtantial that he muſt have gathered his materials from the beſt evidence; and thence conclude that the Protector did not leave the execution of his plot to injudicious tools, but himſelf adjuſted the whole detail of what they ſhoud ſay and do. This is a compleat Anſwer to Mr. Hume's ſuppoſition, which being raiſed in oppoſition to his own evidences, ſtands on no ground at all: and

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therefore when he was reduced to this hypotheſis, it is plain that he could not ſupport ſo ſilly a ſtory as that of Richard blackening his own Mother, and ſetting up a precontract with Elizabeth Lucy: both which I expoſed; and which as Mr. Hume cannot defend from the authority of Sr Thomas More, without contradicting Sr T. More, I may fairly preſume that I have confuted Sir T. More, when Mr. Hume himſelf is forced to give him up, and is forced to deny that he has ſaid what he *has* ſaid ſo poſitively and circumſtantially.

Note the Second.

If we refuſe to More the quality of a Cotemporary relatively to the Protectorate of the Duke of Glouceſter, we cannot deny it to him with regard to the Impoſture of Perkin. He was then grown a Man,

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and had all the faculties neceſſary for knowing, examining, and deciding on the truth; ſo that when he aſſures us that Richard ordered the maſſacre of the Duke of York, he aſſures us in effect in the cleareſt manner that Perkin who aſſumed his name, was an Impoſtor.

Anſwer.

When this note is analyzed, I will recommend it for as beautiful an inſtance of falſe logic as can be produced. Here is the ſum of it. S^r^ Thomas More was a grown Man when Warbeck appeared, and had all the faculties neceſſary for knowing, examining and deciding the Truth; *Therefore* a fact that he relates which paſſed in his childhood when he was not capable of knowing, examining, &c. proves another fact, that happened when he was capable of knowing and examining, but

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which fact he neither related nor examined. Yet even in that circumſtance of age Mr. H. is unfortunate. Sr Thomas was born in 1480. Perkin appeared in 1495, when More was fifteen. Is not that a time of life ſingularly qualified for knowing, examining, and deciding on the truth of a State ſecret? But perhaps Mr. H. refers to Sr Thomas's age when he compoſed his hiſtory. I have ſhown That was in his twenty eighth year; and when he was Under Sheriff of London. Was he in a ſituation then of fathoming all the depths of a myſtery which he himſelf and Lord Bacon own had been ſedulouſly involved by Henry 7th in impenetrable obſcurity? Does not Sr Thomas confeſs that he had heard the ſtory of the murder related in various ways, but gave it from the mouths of thoſe he deemed the moſt credible witneſſes?

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Was this being in a ſituation to know, examine, and decide peremptorily on ſo dark a ſtory? Is this aſſuring us *in the cleareſt manner* that Richard ordered the murder of his Nephews? Does Mr. H. think that every Hiſtorian, who is a grown man at or near the time of an event, and who aſſures of certain facts, ought to be implicitly received as a faithfull Reporter! Who ſtands more ſtrongly in that predicament than Dr. Burnet? Who has made a more ſolemn appeal to Heaven for his veracity? I profeſs I believe the general and by far the greater part of the Biſhop's hiſtory, becauſe I have ſeen how vain the attempts have been to confute it —but does Mr. H. believe ſo too? If he does, why has he followed him ſo little? Why are More and Bacon competent witneſſes againſt Richard 3rd, and Burnet not ſo againſt Charles 2nd?

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Note 3rd.

THIS note is compoſed of meer declamation and aſſertions unfounded in fact. It contains a pompous panegyric of Lord Bacon as a genius of the firſt water, an excuſe for the flattery he has laviſhed on Henry 7th, and an aſſumption that it was compoſed from original papers now loſt, with other poſitions equally arbitrary which I ſhall examine preſently. I have already obſerved that nothing can be weaker than to pretend to eſtabliſh the credit of an hiſtorian on the extent of his underſtanding. I fear the contrary is more often true; and that the leſs bright the imagination of an Hiſtorian, the more likely he is to be exact in his narrative. Many hiſtorians are admired for their art, method, ſtyle, and ſhrewdneſs, on whoſe fidelity the world does not beſtow equal ap-

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probation. Perhaps one of the leaſt bright of our hiſtorians, Rapin, is more generally eſteemed for his veracity than many of his ſuperiors in compoſition. *But Lord Bacon is an upright Hiſtorian, is not partial to Henry, ſince it is from him we have received the details of the tirannic government of that Prince. All one can reproach him with, is, for not blaming the facts he relates as ſeverely as they deſerved.* As the book is in print and common enough, one can ſcarce conceive how Mr. H. could give this character of it. If the worſt actions are not defended or palliated throughout, if his Lordſhip's tacit diſapprobation of them may be conjectured, as it is true it ſometimes may, ſtill ſo timidly is it inſinuated, ſo cautiouſly enveloped, that he ſeems to have hoped the learned Prince [James 1st] under whoſe auſpices the work was compoſed,

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woud not have ſagacity enough to penetrate his real ſentiments. But I will refer to the book itſelf. In the dedication to Prince Charles, Lord Bacon profeſſes *that he has endeavoured to do honour to the memory of that King* [Henry 7th] and the hiſtory takes care to keep the promiſe made by the Dedication. *Beſides*, continues the Dedication, *the times deſerve it, for he was a wiſe Man and an excellent King.* This was the text, and we find it amply handled in the ſame ſtyle. I ſhall ſelect a few inſtances, and will leave the Reader to judge whether Lord Bacon is ſolely reproachable with not having treated Henry's tyranny with due rigour; as Mr. H. aſſerts: or whether, as I pretend, he has not exalted ſome of his worſt actions into matter of panegyric: and under this head I ſhall forbear recapitulating the inſtances I have already

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quoted in my *Hiſtoric Doubts*. Henry procured the Star Chamber, which before ſubſiſted by the common Law, to be confirmed in certain caſes by Act of Parliament. This Court, ſays Lord Bacon, is one of the ſageſt and nobleſt Inſtitutions of this kingdom.

Recounting the reaſons that moved Henry to put to death Sir William Stanley, the brother of his own Mother's Huſband, L^d^ Bacon reckons thoſe that were predominant in the King's nature and mind, as, *Stanley's over merit and the glimmering of a confiſcation, for he was the richeſt ſubject for value in the kingdom.* And after aſſigning theſe baſe and ſcandalous motives, he adds theſe words; *after ſome ſix weeks diſtance of time, which the King did honorably interpoſe, both to give time to his Brother's interceſſion and to ſhow to the World that he had a conflict with himſelf what to do, Stanley*

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was arraigned, condemned and beheaded. This *honorable* hypocriſy is ſomething more methinks than not treating Henry with proper ſeverity. And theſe ſordid motives weighed to get rid of a Man, whom Lord Bacon impiouſly compares *to Jeſus Chriſt, as having had the benefit* at once to ſave and crown, p. 135.

On the inhuman murder of the young and ſimple Earl of Warwick the noble hiſtorian is as indulgent as poſſible and rather treats it as an act of political wiſdom. "It happened opportunely," ſays he, "that "while the King was meditating that "young Prince's death, another "counterfeit ſtarted up to repreſent the danger to the King's "eſtate, and thereby to colour the "King's ſeverity that followed. "And to ſhift the envy of ſo foul "a deed from himſelf, the King "thought good to tranſport it out

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" of the land, and to lay it upon his " new Ally the King of Spain: for " theſe two Kings underſtanding " one another at half a word, Ferdi- " nand refuſed to give his Daughter " to Prince Arthur, while the Earl of " Warwick was alive." Is it poſſible to palliate a ſhocking murder by ſmoother terms? and did not the ſage Henry by this infamous intrigue avow that the Earl of Warwick had the beſt title to the Crown, from the illegitimacy of Henry's own Queen and her Siſters? In truth among the inſtances of his boaſted wiſdom, there is ſcarce one in which he did not prove the dupe of his own duplicity and of the ſuperior cunning of others. But I ſhould tire the Reader and myſelf with recapitulating what the whole book demonſtrates, that it is the panegyric of a knaviſh Tyrant and in no light deſerves the rank to which Mr. H. woud prefer it. I

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will only obſerve farther, that in the end he calls him *the Solomon of England and a wonder for wiſe men*, and talks of the piety, charity, morality, juſtice and lenity of a Tyrant who plundered his people by every act of extortion, ſhed innocent blood from jealouſy, wrenched the law to ſerve his purpoſes, and died mocking God by commanding his ſon to put to death the Earl of Suffolk whom he had ſworn himſelf to ſave.

Mr. Hume's next aſſertion in this note is, that Lord Bacon compoſed his hiſtory from authentic papers now loſt; and therefore ought always to be cited as an original Writer. Lord Bacon no where pretends to have ſeen any ſuch papers: it is a meer *ipſe dixit* of Mr. Hume, who being the ſole Finder of thoſe papers was certainly at liberty to loſe them again if he pleaſed. Lord Bacon's hiſtory was rather compoſed like

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Xenophon's Cyrus, for a model to Princes, than as a ſtrict and faithfull narrative. Livy, Joſephus, Euſebius, and even Varillas might by Mr. Hume's argument be equally intituled to univerſal credit. The firſt founded all his fables of the early ages of Rome on Writers long ſince periſhed: and the three others pretended to have conſulted authentic monuments and papers in the compoſition of their ſeveral works; and yet, tho on that foot original Writers, are now treated by all Men of ſenſe as fabulous Romancers. But Mr. H. takes great care to forget that the Truth of hiſtory does not depend ſolely on the originality of an Author. A thouſand circumſtances muſt concur to eſtabliſh his credit. A cotemporary, if not an author, is ſeldom well informed, and the firſt hiſtories we have, are generally the leaſt true. Time brings

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greater evidence to light, and diſſipates the clouds of party, partiality and miſtake. Why elſe has Mr. H. taken the trouble of recompoſing what has been ſo often written?

I will conclude my remarks on this Note with exemplifying two more round aſſertions in it, as little founded as all the preceding. In Lord Bacon's time, ſays Mr. H. it was no longer any body's intereſt to blacken Richard. I have ſtated, and I thought clearly, that it was as unſafe in King James' time as in King Henry's, to aſſert the baſtardy of the children of Edward 4th. James 1st claimed from the eldeſt daughter of Henry and Elizabeth. In the very laſt years of Queen Elizabeth, not twenty five years before Lord Bacon wrote his hiſtory, various claims to the crown had been ſet forth in oppoſition to that of James. The Earls of Huntingdon,

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Derby and others were deſcended from different branches of the royal ſtock, whoſe titles were preferable to thoſe of Henry, who had in reality no title at all, and even of his wife Elizabeth, if her Mother's was not a lawfull marriage. I am not ſurpriſed that Mr. Hume ſhoud overlook my arguments, but He will not wonder if I think them preferable to his aſſertions founded on no argument at all, and contrary to fact.

But the moſt ſtrange aſſertion of all, is Mr. Hume's pretending, contrary to the evidence of his own eyes, that Lord Bacon had no doubt of Perkin being an Impoſter. I have ſtated in the *Hiſtoric Doubts* various expreſſions of Lord Bacon, which evince, that whatever pains he took to perſuade others, he was by no means convinced himſelf. The immunity of Lambert Simnel, which was no ſmall argument that there

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was ſome ſecret in it, the King's manner of muffling the ſtory, which has left it almoſt a myſtery to this day, his owning that the King did himſelf no good by the publication of the narrative—theſe and twenty other expreſſions muſt convince us that Lord Bacon was far from having any inward conviction that Perkin was not the true Duke of York; and that if my *Doubts* are light and trifling Mr. Hume's aſſertions are ſo overloaded with falſe weight, that they will ſink themſelves in the mind of every impartial Reader.

But without gueſſing at the depths of ſo inſincere a mind as Lord Bacon's, here is a poſitive proof that he did not believe the ſtory as he related it. He has compoſed a new confeſſion for Perkin, different from and irreconcileable with that publiſhed by King Henry. This I ſtated before. Mr. H. coud not anſwer it,

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and conſequently overlooked it—at the expence of his accuracy. I offer it to him once more thus; Lord Bacon coud not compoſe a new confeſſion for Perkin, without thinking that That given out by Henry was a fiction, and certainly not without knowing that what he himſelf compoſed in lieu of it, was ſo. Was it from theſe two impoſtures that Lord Bacon believed Perkin was an Impoſter?

Note 4.

But if we demand, ſays Mr. H. cotemporary evidence, the ſtrongeſt and leaſt ſuſpicious are ready with their teſtimony. He then muſters a long liſt of the Queen and firſt perſons and families, who, ſays he, were ſo perſuaded of the murder of the two Princes, that they addreſſed themſelves to the Earl of Richmond, the mortal enemy of their family and party.

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Here let us pauſe for a moment —Mr. H. formerly, making uſe of the ſame argument, was ſo unlucky as to miſtake Lancaſtrians for Yorkiſts. Corrected now, tho without owning his miſtake, he has invented a new muſter roll of names, ſtill without offering the leaſt authority to inform us from whence he took them. He has dubbed them all Yorkiſts at once. That they all ſubmitted afterwards to the Uſurper Henry, I do not doubt, eſpecially after he had married the heireſs of York. For ſuch of them as joined to invite Richard over, their belief or diſbelief of the murder, proves juſt nothing at all, but that they deſerted the right heirs of the Crown, and entered into a conſpiracy to place it on the head of a baſtard branch. Let Richard be what he woud, his Uſurpation coud give no title to Henry. If the Princes were dead

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and their ſiſters legitimate, the latter were the next heirs. There were alſo many other Princes and Princeſſes living of the Houſe of York. As it appeared afterwards that the Counties in which the chief intereſt of that Family lay, maintained their affection and attachment to that Houſe, Mr. Hume will excuſe me if I do not believe from his fictitious roll of names that the party of York did concur in general in the Invitation to Henry; and, tho he lays great ſtreſs on illuſtrious names, whoever calls to mind the factions of that time and their frequent changes from intereſted views, and whoever has ſeen anything of factions at all, will not form his opinion of a Cauſe from the behaviour of the moſt illuſtrious perſons on either ſide. Much leſs will he pay regard to a ſecond Edition of names, ſupported, according to Mr. Hume's method, by no authority.

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But as if he was ſenſible of the weakneſs of his argument, he endeavours to prop the queſtion he has begged, by aſking the moſt wonderfull queſtion that I ſuppoſe was ever aſked ſince the days of the Schoolmen. They indeed uſed to enquire how Things woud have been, if they had been very different from what they were; as how Adam and Eve woud have begotten children if they had both been women? Our new Toſtatus propoſes the following Quære in ſupport of his imaginary hoſt of Yorkiſts, *Is there one*, ſays he, *of theſe perſons who in writing the Memoirs of their own time woud not have aſſured us that Richard murdered his nephews?* In truth, I have not ſuch intuition into what never exiſted, as to know how a Nothing woud be, if it had ever been. Woud Mr. H. allow me that Charles 1st was a Tyrant and Murderer, becauſe I ſhoud aſſert

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that Bradſhaw, Ireton, and Hugh Peters, who never did write his hiſtory, woud have repreſented him as ſuch, if they ever had written his hiſtory? How difficult is it to eſtabliſh the received hiſtory of Richard, when ſo able a Man as Mr. Hume is reduced to ſuppoſe that it woud be confirmed by the Writings of his bittereſt Enemies, if thoſe Enemies had given any account of him! A man leſs bright than Mr. Hume woud ſuſpect that ſuch non-exiſtent hypothetical authors woud have been partial. His Promethean ſagacity, after creating the Perſons, has diſcovered not only what they woud have written, but argues from this poſthumous kind of non entities. This is a fair and fruitfull addition to the ſtores of diſputation: its latitude is unbounded: it may ſerve alike the cauſe of truth and falſhood, and does equal honour to the ingenious

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gentleman who invented this ſort of argument, and to the Swiſs Reviewer, who was only dazzled by my old faſhioned arguments, but was convinced by the luminous force and ſolidity of this new Method of Induction.

Note 5,

Is built on Richard's ſuppoſed Intention of marrying his Niece. Unluckily it proves nothing at all. If the young Duke of York eſcaped, Richard certainly did not know whether he was living or dead. If Richard deſigned to marry his Neice, it was to prevent her eſpouſing Richmond. Theſe round about ways of ſuppoſing the murder are the ſhifts of one that cannot prove the impoſture of Perkin. Prove That, and I will not diſpute the murder. It is the ſtrong evidence in favour of his being the true Duke of York, that

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invalidates the murder. Mr. H. had rather do anything than diſcuſs that evidence. He flies from it to preſumptious, fantaſtic bede-rolls of names, unwritten memoirs, and non-repeals of Acts of Parliament. With him, the *not* repealing an Act of Parliament is proof that there was no ground for making it. By the ſame kind of logic, a repeal ought to corroborate an Act of Parliament.

Note 6.

In a ſtring of propoſitions it is uſual to increaſe the ſtrength of the argument. Mr. H. has inverted this method. The farther he advances, the weaker his reaſons, till he concludes with one that precedes the faculty of reaſoning, and is calculated only for the Nurſery. In the Note before me, after endeavouring from Hiſtorians and actors to eſtabliſh the murder, he has recourſe

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to the reports ſpread in foreign Nations. Let Mr. H. if he can, refute my arguments in favour of Perkin Warbeck; I willingly reſign to him the ſudden impreſſion ſpread in France by Richard's enemies, and the recent and more mature judgment of the Swiſs Reviewer. Let me however obſerve, that the Emperor of China refuſed to receive an Embaſſy from a great Princeſs on much the ſame plea that Charles 8th urged againſt Richard's Embaſſadors.

Woud Mr. Hume, his friends Meſſrs Dalembert and Diderot and Voltaire, who have celebrated the tolerating and legiſlative Spirit of that heroine, allow that the Chineſe Monarch's illbreeding was a proof that the moſt atrocious reports were well founded?

Note 7.

STILL advancing like a lively Crab

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in retrogade argumentation, Mr. H. next preſents us with every body's Oration. Every body, ſays he, argued thus and thus: and then like a good Chriſtian ſums up this harangue with a quotation from Scripture. "Richard," ſays he, "coud not plead "like Cain, am I the Keeper of my "Nephews?" I am rejoiced that St Cain is admitted into Mr. Hume's rubric. "Richard," continues he, "might have anſwered the accuſa- "tion by producing his Nephews." What! if one or both had eſcaped, and were not in his power? Thus Mr. H. ſuppoſes the very point to be proved, and wonders it is diſputed after he has taken it for granted. I have ſo good an opinion of his ſagacity, that if he had *not* taken it for granted *before* he wrote his hiſtory, I am perſuaded he would not believe it now. There is a good deal of difference in the kind of belief which

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a Man entertains *before* he has treated a ſubject, and *after*.

Note 8th

Is built on the evidence of Tirrel, which I have examined diſtinctly in my *Doubts*, and there challenged Mr. H. to ſhow how it was poſſible for Perkin to agree in his narrative with Tirrel and Dighton, unleſs he was the true Duke of York; ſuppoſing Tirrel made the confeſſion alledged, which I have ſhown to be moſt improbable. If Tirrel did not make that confeſſion, there is no evidence of the murder, but the declaration of Dighton, who, ſays Lord Bacon, *ſpoke beſt for the King*, and whoſe teſtimony is invalidated by every rule of evidence.

I own there is leſs trouble in repeating the words *Tirrel* and *Dighton*, than in anſwering thoſe arguments—and Mr. H. has choſen the eaſier part.

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Indeed I do not conceive why my book was worth anſwering, and not my arguments.

Note 9.

If the Duke of York had eſcaped, ſays Mr. H. *the Queen his Mother, the Ducheſs of Burgundy and all thoſe attached to his family woud have been made acquainted with it.* I agree with him on the two former, not at all on the reſt. It was too important a ſecret to be confided to many. The illuſtrious partizans of that or any other party were not I doubt ſo immaculate as to deſerve a truſt of ſuch conſequence. The Queen and Ducheſs probably were informed: and it is odd to hear Mr. Hume complaining that the ſecret was not truſted to the Ducheſs, when She was the principal ſupporter of Perkin. Mr. H. is ſurpriſed ſhe was not let into the ſecret; and preſently will reject her

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own declaration, that ſhe knew him for her Nephew. Henry's treatment of the Queen Dowager and her cloſe impriſonment, with prohibition of all acceſs, is a ſtronger preſumption of her being privy to that fatal ſecret, than any Mr. H. can bring to ſhow that She did not know it.

Note 10th.

Our total ignorance of thoſe who aſſiſted the Duke of York in his eſcape is ſufficient proof of the impoſture of Perkin. If Perkin had obtained the Crown, this would be ſomething of an argument. Did not the Pretender eſcape from Scotland, becauſe Mr. H. does not KNOW who aſſiſted him?

Note 11.

Perkin's narrative is void of all probability.—I know it. Lord Bacon thought ſo and compoſed a new one for him.

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What conſequence is to be drawn thence? Why that we have not his genuine narrative, but ſuch as were compoſed for him by Henry 7th and the Lancaſtrian Hiſtorians. Mr. H. is as unhappy in his concluſions as in his aſſertions.

Note 12.

PERKIN made an entire confeſſion of his impoſture and read it three times. We do not find the leaſt inſinuation that it was drawn from him by torture; and when he made it the laſt time, he had certainly nothing farther to fear.

Anſwer.

IT woud be highly unreaſonable in me to take offence at Mr. Hume's forgetting all my arguments, and all the anſwers which I have already given to theſe [for indeed he does little more than repeat what he has

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ſaid before] when he takes the liberty of contradicting a perſon who ought to have much greater weight with him, I mean, himſelf. In his notes on his own hiſtory he informs us that Perkin's confeſſion was ſuppoſed [tho he queſtions it] to be wrung from him by torture. He now poſitively aſſerts that we do not find the leaſt inſinuation of ſuch force being employed. This is aſſerting and denying to ſome purpoſe. With regard to the confeſſion, he does not inform us to which he adheres, to Henry's or Bacon's. No matter: we cannot believe both, and both give us cauſe to believe neither. Henry's was rejected by the infallible Bacon, and his own ſubſtitution of another deſtroys That too. That Perkin had nothing farther to fear, is aſſerted with as little foundation. Have we never heard in arbitrary governments [ſuch was that of England then] of

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men ſubmitting on impoſed conditions to a milder death, to avoid one more cruel? Who knows whether Perkin [ſuppoſing he made a confeſſion which is moſt improbable] read it in an audible voice; or whether Henry's tools and ſheriffs and guards did not diſperſe a paper after his death, and affirm he had delivered it to them? Were the hiſtories of thoſe times written *circumſtantially* as they are now? Indeed which hiſtory of that time was written at the time? Sr T. More does not go ſo low: Lord Bacon and the reſt wrote many years afterwards.

Note 13.

If Henry had not been convinced that Perkin was a ridiculous Impoſter, he woud not have let him live an hour after he got him in his power. The manner in which he treated the innocent Earl of War-

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wick gives great force to this argument.

Anſwer.

I DO not preſume to trouble Mr. H. or any body elſe with looking over the detail I have given of Henry's anxiety and ſuſpicions on Perkin's account; and of the difference of his behaviour towards him and Lambert Simnel, who *was* a ridiculous Impoſtor, and whom Henry treated accordingly. But if Mr. H. does not purpoſely chuſe to confound this conduct on two very different ſubjects, I woud beg him to peruſe once more his infallible Bacon, and ſee whether Henry thought that Perkin was an object of contempt or ridicule.

The latter part of the note is as extraordinary an overſight [I will call it no more] as the former. "Had "Henry been convinced that Perkin "was the true York, he woud not have

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" let him live an hour, but would have " treated him as he did the young Earl " of Warwick." Henry had reigned at leaſt nine years before Perkin appeared. The Earl of Warwick was all that time in Henry's power, and it was at leaſt two years before the Latter was put to death. Perkin was in Henry's hands as many *months*, as Warwick had been *years*, before Henry cauſed him to be executed. Does not Mr. Hume's argument contract, as he boaſts, great force from this happy illuſtration!

Note 14.

ENTER the Ducheſs of Burgundy on the other ſide of the queſtion. Juſt now Mr. H. argued from her knowing nothing of her Nephew; now it ſeems She knew too much like Hudibras. Mr. H. can take up his arms, diſpute,

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Confute, change ſides and ſtill confute himſelf back again.

She had adopted Simnel, and therefore was not to be credited about Perkin. Mr. Hume demands that ſhe ſhoud be acquainted with the fate of her Nephew; ſhe tells you this; Therefore what? therefore do not believe her—but I will reſt contented with Mr. Hume's contradicting himſelf, as he has done in ſo many inſtances, and ſhall leave the Reader to judge from what I have ſaid in the *Doubts*, whether Henry or Margaret ſet up an impoſture.

But I cannot ſo eaſily abandon Mr. Carte to the attacks of that powerfull *Whig* champion, Mr. Hume, who has no mercy on a poor dead man, only becauſe he was attached to that nonſenſical tenet *Hereditary Right*. *Mr. Carte*, ſays he, to blacken Henry 7th for having no hereditary right, ſuppreſſed entirely the impor-

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tant fact of the Ducheſs ſupporting Simnel. Is it then an irremiſſible crime in an Hiſtorian to ſuppreſs any material fact? I do not know, nor can I take the trouble now to examine whether Mr. Carte has ſuppreſſed the negotiations between Charles 1st and the Pope's Nuncio, ſo unanſwerably proved upon him by the exact Mrs. Macaulay. I myſelf have declared that it was natural for Charles to treat with Roman Catholic Subjects againſt Proteſtant Subjects who endeavoured to dethrone him. But what becomes of his Proteſtant piety, his martyrdom, his ſincerity? Look at the conceſſions he made on every capital point, and the oaths he ſwore to conceal them. If Mr. Carte has ſuppreſſed this enormous treaty, and has ſtill repreſented Charles in an amiable light, I ſhall indeed allow that he has ſtifled an important fact, and will abandon him

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to my Whig friend—but an Hiſtorian may omit leſs material circumſtances, and not deſerve the ſame cenſure. For inſtance, Burnet aſſures us that S^r^ Edmundbury Godfrey told him that he expected to be knocked on the head. This circumſtance is entirely omitted by a late maſterly Hiſtorian, tho very material with regard to the murder that enſued: but it did not ſuit the hypotheſis of Godfrey's murdering himſelf. V. Hume's reign of Charles 2^nd^.

I will not wander from my ſubject to lay open many other errors and omiſſions in the hiſtory I have quoted, tho I could looſen its artfull texture in variety of places with far greater facility than I have unravelled the ſtory of Richard 3^rd^. I admire the ingenious fabric with all its want of ſymmetry, and in ſpite of the conflict with which it is ever at war

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with itſelf, by endeavouring to ſeparate thoſe hearty friends, the Prerogative and the Church, and by fruitleſly trying to exalt the former and decry the latter, an attempt that renders the whole work one beautifull contradiction.

Note 15.

No proofs, ſays Mr. H. *were produced at the time of Perkin's being the true Duke of York.* How does he know? When ſo much accumulative evidence in his favour, after all the Labours of Henry and his partizans to deſtroy it, yet remains, ſure the probability is, that ſtill greater appeared at the time. From what Henry forged we may gueſs at what he ſuppreſſed. We have none but Lancaſtrian Hiſtorians: the Queen was ſhut up; and by Lord Bacon's own confeſſion, every thing ſo muffled by Henry that it baffled every

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body. Mr. H. cutting the Gordian knot which he coud not untie, aſſerts with the tone of an Alexander, that all Perkin's anſwers might have been eaſily ſuggeſted to him by the Ducheſs of Burgundy, by Frion,* and by whoever had lived in the Court at that time. I have ſhown to demonſtration by *dates*, which Mr. H. ſwallows as if they were expletives, that the Ducheſs did *not* live in the Court at any part of that time; and any man's common ſenſe, but Mr. Hume's, will tell him, that it is abſolutely impoſſible to inſtruct a Stranger, ſo thoroughly in all the paſſages of a Court, that he would not be detected in an hour's time. If my book is not a heap of abſurdities, there is no part of it leſs liable

* Hume's words are, "By the Ducheſs of Burgundy, by Frion, Henry's Secretary, *or* by any body who had ever lived at Court."
E. C. H.

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to be conteſted than the paſſages in which I have ſtated the true and obvious method of detecting ſuch an Impoſtor, if he was one. I have ſhown that the omiſſion of ſuch ſatisfaction, and the ſubſtitution of the moſt abſurd aſſertions create the ſtrongeſt objections againſt Henry. If I have talked nonſenſe, it would be charity in Mr. H. to ſet me right. He knows the deference I have for his Underſtanding, and no doubt he, if he pleaſed, coud convince me that Henry's conduct was clear, rational, and liable to no miſrepreſentation: that L^d^ Bacon's account of his ambiguity is falſe, and yet that Lord Bacon's account ought to be implicitly relied on. Mr. H. coud certainly diſprove all that I have ſaid, and prove all that he has ſaid himſelf, tho as yet he has done neither. Nay, I am perſuaded he coud do what is ſtill more difficult, ſince his

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Eloquence has worked that miracle both on himſelf and his friend the Reviewer, convince me by weak arguments and groundleſs aſſertions, that the authority of great names is preferable to ſolid reaſons; and that repeating arguments that have been confuted gives them new force. Women and drunken men make uſe of that kind of Oratory; and perhaps Mr. H.'s example may give new weight to the practice.

The Note concludes with confeſſing that many perſons of diſtinction were at firſt deceived by Perkin, which he aſcribes to the enthuſiaſm of the Nation in favour of the Houſe of York.—I thought that all the illuſtrious Yorkiſts, according to Mr. Hume's catalogue of them, knew for certainty, that the children were murdered. How came they to unknow it again? *But*, ſays he, *many were at firſt deceived.* Woud not one

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think that that perſuaſion had been momentary? Does Mr. H. forget, or with the art of a diſputant did he ſlip in the words *at firſt* to make his Reader forget, that four or five Knights of the Garter and Privy Counſellors to Henry were convinced Perkin was King Edward's Son, and died in that perſuaſion?* Does ſuch atteſtation of their belief accord with Mr. Hume's aſſertion in the beginning of the Note that *no proofs* were produced at the time of Perkin being the true Duke of York. This manner of ſtating a fact and evading the juſt concluſion, I call owning Truth without allowing it: it is endeavouring to elude with a clear conſcience. The poor Reviewer fell into the ſnare —. I do not believe any body elſe will.

* Hume adds, "*Every* body's Eyes were opened *long* before Perkin's Death." E. C. H.

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Note 16.

THE laſt note which eſtabliſhes the murder on the authority of the bones found in the Tower, is the only Note to which I ſhall not preſume to give an anſwer. Untouched let it ſubſiſt to the comfort and edification of all the good Women who viſit the tombs of Weſtminſter Abbey! May thoſe bones remain an equal proof of the crimes of Richard, and of the catholic credulity of Mr. Hume and the Reviewer! In thoſe pious lands where all the evidence of a miracle depends on ſhowing the rotten remains of thoſe to whom, or the ſpot on which it happened, ſuch Faith is often found.—In truth I did not expect it woud make its appearance in the form of an argument—but ſince Mr. Hume is reduced to reaſon from relicks, he will excuſe me if I leave him at the door of the ſanctuary,

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and am ſtill unbeliever enough to think that thoſe bones ſo enſhrined are no more a proof of the guilt of Richard, than they are of the piety of Charles 2d.

I have thus replied to Mr. Hume's remarks; an attention certainly due to whatever falls from ſo ſuperior a Writer. I am not intituled to the ſame obſervance from Him, nor woud the Public excuſe me if he waſted ſome of thoſe moments in anſwering objections, which he can employ ſo much better for their inſtruction and amuſement. In truth They expect greater things from him. As he has been admitted into the penetralia of the Benedictine College at Paris, and has explored the authentic ſecrets of the two laſt Stuarts, the Public is impatient for the detail of thoſe myſteries of which he has already given them a hint: nor can the appetite

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which *He* has raiſed, be ſatisfied with a meager note. He has another and ſtill greater atchievment to perform, which can never be executed by ſo maſterly a hand, and which the World eagerly demands from his. A work more worthy of his genius, than any on which it has yet been exerciſed. As Mr. Hume's talent certainly veers to panegyric rather than ſatire, it muſt be a gratefull ſatisfaction to ſo generous a mind to beſtow deſerved encomiums, inſtead of ſoftening defects and exceſſes. The reign of William who expelled the Tyrants of Britain and tools of France, will ſhine with all its luſtre when treated by a Philoſopher and Patriot, who prefers the rights, the liberty, the happineſs of Mankind to the ſelfiſh politics of narrow-minded Kings, and to the baſe adulation of venal Courts. In Mr. Hume's page we ſhall read with pleaſure the eſtab-

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liſhment and extent of our invaluable Conſtitution, as immoveably founded on the Revolution—and the Excellent Dr. Robertſon will not remain the firſt of Hiſtorians, who above the little prejudices of Country, Party, and Profeſſion, has dared to ſpeak of the natural rights of Mankind with juſt boldneſs, and has traced the progreſs of Deſpotiſm in ſuch glowing colours, as muſt warn the few free Nations yet remaining on earth to watch the ſilent Craft and undermining Policy of Princes and Stateſmen.

I ſhall conclude theſe remarks with taking notice of a few other Criticiſms that I have heard made on my *Doubts*.

A learned Dignitary of the Church informed me that he was of opinion the robes made for Edward 5th were ordered for him on his acceſſion, and

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not for the coronation of his Uncle, for this reaſon, that the Roll which I quoted was the account of the Wardrobe from the death of Edward 4th. There woud indeed be a kind of weight in this argument, if unfortunately the Order, inſtead of commencing the account, was not entered in the midſt of the orders of Deliveries for the Coronation of Richard. It woud be ſtrange indeed if ſo accurate an officer as Mr. Peter Curteys appears to have been, ſhould have thruſt a prior and foreign account into the midſt of a regular Bill for another purpoſe. And this Obſervation is corroborated by the following remarkable Entry, immediately preceding the Order of Robes for Edward 5th:—

"To many dyvers perſons for to
"have in haſte, by my Lorde
"of Buckingham's command-

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" ment, who names were not
" remembered, delyvered in-
" grete;"
" To Lord Edward, Son of late
" King Edward 4th."

I aſk now, whether any man in his Senſes can believe that Robes for a new Monarch woud have been entered in this ſlight and promiſcuous manner? I aſk if any man can believe that this ſudden Order, entered in the middle of the deliveries for the Coronation of Richard, and ſpecifying the recollection of ſome perſons who had been omitted, was the recollection of Peter Curteys, who had forgot to begin his account with the moſt obvious delivery, robes for the new King or the recollection of Richard and Buckingham, who ſuddenly agreed that the depoſed Prince ſhould walk at the Coronation of his Uncle? A clear proof too exiſts that this entry was not made from the

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former negligence of Curteys, for when Edward 4th died, the Duke of Buckingham was not in London, but in Wales; conſequently coud not direct robes for the young Succeſſor, tho he was in London, and might order them againſt the coronation of Richard.

The ſame ingenious Perſon who favoured me with the laſt miſtake, informed me at the ſame time that he had diſcovered, I do not know how or where, that Sr James Tirrel was not Maſter of the Horſe at Richard's Coronation, tho he is ſtyled ſo in the Roll, but was appointed ſo before Richard's ſecond coronation at York: and that he had found out that Sr James Tirrel and Sr Thomas Tirrel were not brothers but Couſins. I am very thankfull for theſe diſcoveries, and think them as important as ſuch errant trifles can be. I am only concerned that they were not

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communicated in time to Mr. Hume or his friend the Reviewer. Two ſuch Nothings would have added great weight to the ſcale that decided the Reviewer's judgment, and woud have accompanied very prettily the note relating to the bones of the two children.

Having now diſpatched all the ſtraws that have been thrown in my way, may I be allowed to add to what I have formerly ſaid, ſome additional confirmation of my opinion?

A very ſenſible Gentleman whoſe Name I will not mix with Guthries and Reviewers, on reading my book, ſent me a ſmall volume of notes that he had drawn up forty years ago, and in which I was flattered to find very many of my own remarks, and others of great weight, which I ſhoud be proud to be at liberty to publiſh. This is a proof that my Opinion is not ſingular. Indeed Rapin, Carte and others had

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ſeen the objections that ought to be made to Lancaſtrian Hiſtorians. Mr. Hume calls Carte's doubts whimſical; and mine, light ſcruples. With ſubmiſſion, they are not whimſical or light ſcruples, which ſo profound a reaſoner as Mr. H. can anſwer no better.

With regard to the perſon of Richard, the Earl of Shafteſbury was ſo good as to inform me, that his anceſtor the Lady Aſhley who lived to a great age, had converſed with Lady Deſmond, and gave from her the ſame Account that I have given, with this ſtrong addition, that Perkin Warbeck was remarkably like Edward 4th. And to prove that the print I have exhibited of Richard and his Queen, which the late Biſhop of Carliſle believed was taken from a window in the Priory of Little Malvern [deſtroyed by a ſtorm ſome years ago] was not a fantaſtic picture of imagination, I ſhall here preſent the

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Reader with two more portraits of Richard and his Queen, almoſt minutely correſponding with Vertue's drawing, and taken from the beſt and moſt unqueſtionable authority. The Earl of Sandwich, on reading my *Doubts*, obligingly acquainted me that the Duke of Mancheſter was poſſeſſed of a moſt curious and original Roll, containing the Liſt, portraits and deſcent of all the Earls of Warwick, drawn by John Rous himſelf, the Antiquary. This ſingular Manuſcript his Grace at my deſire was ſo good as to lend me; and with his permiſſion I cauſed ten of the laſt and moſt curious portraits to be traced off, and here preſent them to the Public faithfully and exactly engraved.*

The Roll is on parchment, and is

* I know not, whether theſe Engravings were ever publiſhed, or preſerved at Strawberry Hill. E. C. H.

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ſeven yards and half long; perfectly preſerved within, but by handling damaged on the outſide, on which have been printed many coats of arms.

The Liſt begins with Guthalmus, and contains the effigies of ſeveral imaginary Saints and Heroes, many Kings of England, and the portrait of Richard the third, with whom it concludes, twice, all neatly tricked, and the habits of the moſt different ages, as well as of the ſucceeding, judiciouſly obſerved. On the outſide is written:—

"This rol was laburd & finiſhd
"by Maſter John Rows of
"Warwick."

But perhaps the moſt curious part of this curioſity is the following Inſcription under Richard, which ſhows that, whatever Rous choſe to ſay of him in compliment to Henry 7th,

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he gave a very different account of him in his Roll, which he left to Poſterity, as a Monument of the Earls and Town to which he was ſo much attached.

Here is the Inſcription as it is written by Rous's own hand:—

" The moſt mighty Prynce Ri-
" chard by the grace of God
" Kynge of Ynglond & of
" Fraunce & Lord of Irelond,
" by verey matrymony w^t^ owt
" dyſcontynewance or any de-
" fylynge yn the Lawe, by eyre
" male lineally dyſcendyng fro
" Kynge Harre the ſecond, all
" avaryce ſet aſyde, rewled his
" ſubjettys in hys realme ful
" comendabylly, puneſhynge of-
" fenders of hys lawes, ſpecyally
" extortioners and oppreſſors of
" hys comyns, and cheryſhynge
" tho yat were vertuos, by the

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" whyche dycrete guydyage he
" got gret thank of God & love
" of all hys ſubjettys ryche &
" pore, & gret land of the peo-
" ple of all othyr landys abowt
" hym."

Mr. Hume declares his affection to cotemporary and original Authors. I beſeech him to produce one more genuine, more uncaſtrated, leſs interpolated than this Record, exiſting in the very hand-writing of the Author. Let him try it by his rules of Originality, and compare it with the teſtimonies of More and Bacon. He will tell me perhaps that Rous in his hiſtory has ſaid the very reverſe. True in a book dedicated to Richard's Rival and ſucceſſor. Lay Richard for a moment out of the queſtion, and let Mr. Hume tell me on any indifferent point which evi-

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dence he woud prefer. Woud he believe Rous flattering Henry to his face; or Rous in his Cell delivering his opinion of a dead King, for it is evident that in the Inſcription Rous ſpeaks of Richard as one that *had* ruled?

I do not doubt but the able Critics with whom I have been engaged, woud treat my conjecture as light and whimſical, if I ſaid I believed (and yet I muſt avow I do believe) that the remarkable and by no means indifferent words, *by very matrimony without any diſcontinuance or any defiling in the Law, by heir male lineally deſcending*, allude to the bigamy of Edward 4th and the illegitimacy of his Children. I firmly believe too that the ſubſequent words *all avarice ſet aſide, puniſhing offenders of his laws, eſpecially extortioners and oppreſſors of his Commons*, were a tacit ſatire on the Uſurer his Succeſſor. I have

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at leaſt produced here much better authority in vindication of Richard's than Mr. Hume can bring againſt him, for he cannot reject the teſtimony of Rous, without giving up thoſe Criterions of truth, which he has eſtabliſhed as demanding our aſſent and truſt.

I ſaid in my *Doubts*, that I was ready to yield to better reaſons than my own; but I did not ſay I would yield to worſe. Still leſs was I ever inclined to accept of great Names without any reaſons at all. If meer authority woud do, Mr. Hume woud have as much weight with me as Bacon or More: but great Men without their great ſenſe ſtrike me with no more awe than their monuments, which only exhibit their titles and cover their duſt. We ſhed a tear over their aſhes and their weakneſſes, but beſtow our tribute of praiſe on thoſe excellencies alone, which touch

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the heart or convince the underſtanding.

May 10th, 1769.
P. S.

FINIS.

P. S.—Since the above notes were written, I have found two paſſages, that evidently ſhow how vague and uncertain the reports relating to the death of Edward 5th and his brother were even in the lifetime of Sir T. More. From that very ſcarce book called the paſtyme of the People, and better known by the title of *Raſtell's Chronicle*, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. John Ratcliffe of Rotherhithe, I tranſcribed verbatim the following paragraphs:—

" But the maner of the dethe of " this yonge kynge & of his Bro-

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" ther, there were dyvers opinyons.
" But the moſt comyn opinyon was,
" that they were ſmoldery'd betwene
" two fether beddes, and that in the
" doynge the yonger Brother eſcaped
" from under the fether beddes, &
" crept under the bedſtede, and there
" lay naked awhyle, tyll that they
" had ſmoldery'd the yonge kynge ſo
" that he was ſurely dede. And after
" yt one of them toke his Brother
" from under the Bedſtede & hylde
" his face downe to the grounde with
" his one hande & with the other
" hande cut his throte holle a ſonder
" with a dagger. It is a mervayle
" that any man coude have ſo harde
" a harte to do ſo cruell a dede,
" ſave only that neceſſyte compelled
" them, for they were ſo charged by
" the Duke the Protectour, that if they
" ſhewed not to hym the bodyes of
" bothe thoſe chylderne dede on the
" morowe after they were ſo com-

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" aunded, that than they themſelfe
" ſhulde be put to dethe. Wher-
" fore they that were ſo comanded
" to do it were compelled to fullfyll
" the Protectour's wyll. And after
" that the bodyes of theſe 11 chyl-
" derne as the opinyone ranne were
" bothe cloſed in a great hevy cheſte,
" and by the meanes of one that was
" ſecrete with the Protectour, they
" were put in a ſhyppe goynge to
" Flaunders, and whan the ſhyppe
" was in the black depes this man
" threwe bothe thoſe dede bodyes ſo
" cloſed in the cheſte over the
" hatches into the ſee, and yet none
" of the maryners nor none in the
" ſhyppe, ſave only the ſayd Man,
" wyſt what thynge it was that
" was there ſo incloſed; which ſay-
" enge dyvers men conjectured to be
" trewe, becauſe that the bones of
" the ſayd chylderne coude never be
" founde buryed nather in the towre
" nor in no other place."

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" Another opinyon there is that " they whiche had the charge to put " them to dethe cauſed one to cry ſo " ſodaynly Treaſon, Treaſon, wher- " with the chylderne beynge aferde, " deſyred to knowe what was beſt for " them to do. And than they bad " them hyde themſelfe in a great " cheſte that no Man ſhulde fynde " them, & if any body come into the " chambre, they wolde ſay they were " not there. And accordynge as they " counſellyed them, they crepte bothe " into the cheſte, which anone after " they locked. And than anone, " they buryed that cheſte in a great " pytte under a ſteyre, which cheſte " was after caſte into the blacke " depes, as is before ſayd."

I ſhall paſs over the abſurdities of both the foregoing accounts; but how will they ſtrike us, when we find from Ames' typographical anti-

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quities, p. 147, that this book was printed 1529, the 21st year of Henry 8th, and from page 141, that Raſtell the Compiler and Printer married Sr T. More's own ſiſter? If Sr Thomas, as Mr. Hume pretends, was ſo intimate with the chief perſons of Richard's Court or reign, how came he to ſuffer his Brother in law to paſs ſuch ſenſeleſs ſtuff on the public, in a work no doubt ſubmitted to his inſpection, for Raſtell was not only his relation but Printer, his very next publication being a dialogue written by More, and printed in the ſame year with the *Chronicle?* Nor did Sr Thomas pick up the materials for his own hiſtory after the appearance of *Raſtell's Chronicle*, which was publiſhed but ſix years before Sr Thomas's death, when the perſons from whom he had gained his intelligence muſt have been dead likewiſe. But do not Sr Thomas's own words betray,

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not only doubts in his own breaſt, but thorough proof of the uncertainty of all the incidents relative to the murder?

He tells us, that he does not relate the murder in every way he had heard it, but according to the moſt probable account he coud collect from the moſt creditable Witneſſes. And I will aſk one or two more queſtions which I defy Mr. Hume or any Man living to anſwer in a rational manner. If Dighton and Tirrel confeſſed the murder in the reign of Henry 7th, how coud even the outlines be a ſecret and uncertain in the reign of Henry 8th? Is it credible that they owned the fact, and concealed every one of the circumſtances? If they related thoſe circumſtances, without which their confeſſion coud gain no manner of belief, coud Sr T. More, Chancellor to Henry 8th, and educated in the houſe of the Prime

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Miniſter to Henry the 7th, be ignorant of what it was ſo much the intereſt of Cardinal Morton to tell, and of Henry 7th to have known and aſcertained? A King and his Brother are murdered [according to Henry, More, Bacon, Hume, Guthrie, and the mob], a great officer of the Crown and a low Groom confeſs themſelves principals in the guilt, the firſt is executed, the Latter ſuffered to live, to diſperſe the tale. Neither of them give the leaſt account *how* they committed the fact, or if they did, no man living, from the Prime Miniſter to the compiler of the *Chronicle*, coud get *certain* intelligence of what they confeſſed, tho it is impoſſible to aſſign any other reaſon for the impunity of Dighton but the intention of his ſpreading and authenticating the Story. If therefore the confeſſions ſaid to be made by Tirrel and Dighton are irreconcileable to every

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ſtandard by which we can judge of evidence, no evidence of the murder exiſts. If the atteſtations produced by Henry, More, and Bacon, who indubitably furniſhed the beſt they coud, are inconſiſtent and improbable, the identity of Perkin Warbeck and the Duke of York remains unſhaken, Mr. Hume himſelf allowing, and bending all the force of his argument to prove, that the ſtrong evidence againſt Perkin is the certainty of the murder. If on the contrary, the authority of Hiſtorians is ſufficient to paſs ſuch ſtuff on our credulity, I muſt avow I cannot ſee what criterion there is in Human Reaſon by which we may diſtinguiſh between Truth and the moſt clumſy and incoherent Legends.

Auguſt 6th, 1769.

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CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO WILLIAM PENN.

COMMUNICATED BY THE EARL OF ELLESMERE.

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CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO WILLIAM PENN.

THE following letters from William Penn, and from other perſons, form part of a larger correſpondence which appears to have been copied out by direction of Col. Nicholſon, Governor of Maryland in 1797, and forwarded by him to Lord Bridgewater, then Firſt Lord of the Admiralty. It is probable, therefore, that other copies may exiſt in the Government Archives.

They relate entirely to what is perhaps not a very intereſting ſubject, the quarrels and diſputes of the authorities of the ſeveral colonies; who were then, it is unneceſſary to re-

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mark, wholly independent of each other. They have, however, been thought worthy of a place in this volume on account of their connection with ſo remarkable an individual as Mr. Penn, and ſhowing the nature of the accuſations made againſt him, and thoſe appointed by him. There is much more of the ſame kind, and of illegal exactions, harbouring pirates, &c. againſt the Quaker juſtices. Penn was at that period reſiding in England, and the government of Pennſilvania was then adminiſtered by his deputy, Col. Markham, who appears to have carried on matters with a high hand. Whether the complaints are well-founded or not it is, of courſe, impoſſible to elicit from an *ex parte* ſtatement; but there is very little doubt that the dominating ſect in each Colony, be they Churchmen in Virginia, Puritans in New England, or Quakers

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in Pennſilvania, and whether they had left their homes to avoid perſecution or not, were by no means averſe to exerciſing a little when they had the power themſelves.

E. E.

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MEM:

AFTER I had attended Sr Thomas Trevor the Atturney Genll. when were by his order allſo attending Mr. Pen, Col. Winthrop, Mr. Baſſe in behalf of themſelves and other the proprietors, about his Majeſtys appointing Atturneys Genrll in ye ſeveral proprietorys; Mr. Pen and Col. Winthrop came to me on ye 19th of October 1696 not far from the Atturneys Chamber and told me ye Act for preventing Frauds &c was made to enſnare honeſt people.

That he had the Regalia, and did not value ye Act 20 of October, Col. Winthrop told me ye introducing yt act was a barbarous thing

E. RANDOLPH.*

Annapolis, January 18, 1697.

True Copy,

FFn NICHOLSON.

* Mr. Randolph proceeded as a Crown

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Warminghurſt 16 Oct. 1697

EDWARD RANDOLPH,

I SHALL not fail to oblige Col. Markham to uſe his Authority to right y^e^ Intereſt of y^e^ Crown in all reſpects, and if thou expecteſt my letter beſides thou ſhalt have it. But to be very plain, I doe expect an other ſort of Correſpondence; and y^t^ thoſe which have been y^e^ Inſtruments of raiſing this Smoake ag^st^ my province will quench y^t^ Fire which feeds it: or I muſt fling away my Scabbard, and openly detect and impeach too: and I neither fear my matter, nor my Intereſt to back it. For y^f^ a man and his Family and his

Commiſſioner to Pennſilvania, where his quarrels with Col. Markham ended in the latter's throwing him into priſon: a violent act, which was one of the cauſes of the latter's depoſition.

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friends ſhould be ſmothered in a Duſt malice has raiſed, and aggravated only to diſpoſſeſs us (as I am able to prove) by y^e^ partys concerned in y^e^ plot, is ſcandalous to all y^t^ (love?) truth more than trick. And I expect, if we are to live good Friends, y^t^ Thou wilt here, as well as there, doe thy utmoſt to lay theſe things before thou goeſt which, as it will ſhew a reality, will oblige one y^t^ dares be juſt to Friendſhip; and y^t^ on theſe Terms will ſhew himſelf, thy aſſured friend

WILL. PEN.

I intend to write again before thou goeſt.

To Edward Randolph Eſq.
at y^e^ Cuſtom Houſe London.

The original of this Copy I left

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in ye hands of Mr. Henley Commiſſioner of y^e^ Cuſtoms.

E. RANDOLPH.

True Copy

FF^n^ NICHOLSON.

Warminghurſt 22 Ober. 97

COL. NICHOLSON,

I AM ſorry y^t^ any man y^t^ values himſelf upon his character ſhould ſo much forget it, as to act an unneighbourly part, which is y^e^ ſofteſt term I can find, to engage thy patience to read and weigh this complaint of mine, ag^st^ thee to thy ſelf.

When Thou lef'ſt England, I well remember, thou wert pledged to deſire to ſee me, and at y^t^ time offerd me friendly offices. I took it as became me, very civilly and kindly: After y^t^ I feared no night-ſtabs, or ſecret deſigns againſt me

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and my interſt; for I cant help believing any gentleman, when he gives me ſo much ground for it.

It is true, Thou has ſhewed Col. Markham an exterior Reſpect for ſome time: but y^t^ makes him take this late turn of treatment ſo much y^e^ harder. For if he were as culpable, as he is repreſented; me thinks he might firſt have been adviſed of ſuch irregularitys; and if not ſpeedily mended thou muſt complain at home. But inſtead of this method, to carry ſmoothly there, & at y^e^ ſame time to encourage Ed^wrd^ Randolph to impeach him and y^e^ province here, two years ſucceſſively and y^n^ firſt invade the province by Force, Drums beating, and Colours flying: & afterwards write againſt us; and all this, immediately after an appearance of a good Underſtanding; ſeems to me not very prudent; & to be ſure, very unneighborly.

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A letter of Complaint to Mark: with a warning, in caſe he were not more carefull, to complain at home, with an order to y^e^ Meſſenger to take his receipt for y^e^ letter, would have more effectually touched him, and have obliged his care, or expoſed him much more to cenſure upon neglect.

But this is not all. Govern^r^ Nicholſon, when in my province, upon his return home, if not as he came, made it his buſineſs to ſpy holes in our Coat, and glean up our weakneſſes (if any were) by aſking and pumping at private Houſes, how they were governed, what Trade, what ſhips frequented them: if they were injured or oppreſſed in any reſpect, as I am aſſured from y^m^; which has not a good face with it, in my opinion; nor can it tend to peace among y^e^ Kings Subjects & Colonies. But yet a more diſingen-

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uous thing I complain of, to wit, holding a correſpondence with people in my province in order to expoſe y^e^ Government at home; which muſt end in y^e^ diſgrace of it, if not in mine, and my ſuffering Familys Ruine.

This is what I believe Col. Nicholſon would think very ill in me; if I ſhould, or could provoke any of our Friends in Maryland; or any elſe to ſerve thee ſo; Thou wouldſt puniſh it ſeverely.

I know y^t^ C^pt^ Snead, G^r^ Jones (lately of M land) and one Moor &c have been thy Correſpondents; at leaſt are of a Cabal, to blow us up. And for y^m^ to doe this, and never ſend me one word of any real miſcarriage, & what they would have redreſſed; is villanous in them, and in Gover^r^ Nicholſon not well: being fitter for independant Soveraignties; y^n^ perſons of y^e^ ſame Nation and Alle-

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giance. Truly theſe things trouble me. Had Col. Nicholſon ſent me word of any miſcarriage, or careleſs, if not corrupt practiſes of o^r faults; I could have taken y^e Information moſt friendly, and begged his overſight, as y^e greateſt favour he could doe me.

There are two ways of doing all things; a faire and a foul; a rough & a ſoft method. It could not have hurt Col. Nicholſon to have ſhewed us, y^e firſt time at leaſt, his fairer and ſofter ſide. I omit thy particular heats againſt us, thy Imprecations upon poor Philadelphia, and that there ſhall be as many Bills ſet up there, as houſes in a while; becauſe y^t may be y^e fruit of paſſion: yet out of the abundance of y^e heart, y^e mouth ſpeaketh; as ſaith our bleſſed Saviour. Nor will I take notice of faults in thy own charge and Government, of which I have

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heard many, and foul enough, if true; for yts not my buſineſs: Nor have I once aggravated you to thy Diſſervice: but have oftener excuſed thy exceſſes, y^n^ ſerved myſelf of y^m^; and y^t^ for y^e^ ſake of ſome good qualitys I have heard of Thee, by ſome y^t^ knew thee, before thou kneweſt America. And therefore in my complaint with many more, about y^e^ 10^lb^ (per head?) calculated plainly to our prejudice (it being only executed upon us) Virginia and New York being allowed to eſcape y^t^ cruel incumberance, and indeed oppreſſion; and what is in its own Nature, an high miſdemeanour ag^st^ Mother-Countrey-Engl^d^. I worded it without y^e^ leaſt perſonal *reflection?* And in o^r^ friends memorial to y^e^ Lords of Trade and plantations about y^se^ 10^lb^ of Tobacco per head, Thou art not ſo much as named, And I muſt doe y^m^ y^e^ juſtice to ſay they

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have not played ye Capt. Snead to thee: but with great regards to thy reputation, ſaying nothing yt was ill, and ſeveral things yt were to thy Advantage. And in my reply to thy anſwer to G. Carpenters &c petition, there is not one Incinuatõn, but what ſtrictly belongs to ye buſineſs, and in Terms ſhort & decent, I hope.

I ſay not this to beſpeak anything but juſtice, and hearty good neighbourhood; if it may be; and if it can't be; we muſt ſhift for ourſelves. But becauſe thy Friends, who have written to thee, have aſſured me it will be better, and yt we ſhall live with more regard to a friendly Commerce and Correſpondence; I have writ this to let thee ſee it is in thy power, if thou pleaſeſt, to have a better underſtanding, to our own ſatisfaction, ye good of ye provinces, and their happier Intercourſe, and ye

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Crowns true ſervice. And if this meet with a right Reception, and y^t^ I am not miſunderſtood, thou wilt always find me

Thy kind neighbour
and real Friend
WM. PENN.

True Copy.
FF^n^ NICHOLSON.

I THANK God, I abhor all indirect methods, as at conniving at forbidden Trade, or y^e^ abuſe of y^e^ Crown in a lawful one. And if any are faulty in my propriety; as I am innocent ſo I am ſure I would not endure, but puniſh it to extremity, if among them. Tho here itſelf ſo full of officers, and checks, it happens too often.

When Ed. Randolph arrives there, he will be able to ſay more upon y^t^

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head, and y^e^ Regulations y^t^ are fixed for prevention. In which I allſo had my ſhare in propoſing ſome of y^m^, and aggreeing to others; as y^e^ Lords well know; which I heartily wiſh may be obſerved

W. P.

For Col. Nicolſon
Governour of Marylanden.

True Copy
FF. NICHOLSON.

N. York 30 Xber —97

MR. BROOK (amongſt other things) acquainted y^e^ Govern^r^ Col. Fletcher, y^t^ Mr. Pen was in great Eſteem at Court; and by what I have underſtood he has been very inſtrumental to diſplant Col. Fletcher from y^e^ Government.* Yet ſome ſhort time

* Col. Fletcher had been the governor appointed *ad interim* by the Crown, till Penn's authority in Pennſilvania was definitively ſettled. See Hepworth Dixon's "Life of Penn."

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before Mr. Brooks his departure, Mr. Pen took an opportunity to tell Mr. Brook, y^t y^r ſelf was to be removed from yo^r Government and y^t he had enough aga^st you to effect it, y^t he might acquaint Col. Fletcher, if he had a mind to y^t Government of Maryl^d; he adviſed him only to make ſome ſtay in thoſe parts and doubted not procure y^t Government: for Col. Fletcher, who I know utterly abhors ſuch intreagues, is fully reſolved to depart hence in his Majeſtys ſhip y^e Richmond.

The above is part of a letter from y^e Hon^ble Col. Nicholas Bayard one of his Ma^tys Council of N. York & ſent to

FF^n NICHOLSON.

(Endorſed)

Part of Col. Bayard's letter to his Excellency concerning Mr. Penn.

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Philadelphia May 8e 6th 1698.

Sr

I RECEIVED yor Honr by Edward Randolph Eſqr who I have been at New York with, and have ſent home agrievances under ye Seal of York to Sr Ben: Bathurſt and Coppys to ſome of ye Lords Commiſſioners. I have received a letter ffrom Coll: Quarry by which I find Mr. Penn has found a way to make him his ffriend. I underſtand he has helpt him to moſt of Charles Saunders buſineſs; intereſt blinds moſt men; he gives me to underſtand that Mr. Penns intereſt is ſo great as if the King writes to him prticularly from fflanders and ſatisfyes him of his proceedings there: as if he were of his privy Councill. I ſuppoſe it is on purpoſe to make us deſiſt from making our caſes known at home; I would have ſent yor Honr a copy of

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his Letter but Mr. Randolph has put me in hopes of ſeeing you this way.

Sr when at York I was to waite on Coll. ffletcher, who told me yt Mr. Penn had writt to him to linger or hover (I know not which) theſe parts for ſome little time and he doubted not but gett him the government of Maryland; if his intereſt at Court be as he pretends; I wiſh I were out of his government: here is no living for any yt are not Quakers without it be altered; we had better live under the ffrench King, I would gladly ſell my Intereſt for half ye worth, than ſtay if it continues—

I pray God protect yr Honr you having him on yor ſide need fear no penns yt can ſpake or write againſt you. Sr I have little news to acquaint yor Excy with, my Lord Bellemount has cauſed Coll. ffletcher to give ſecurity for his anſwering to ſuch

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matters as ſhould be obliged ag^{t} him at home.

My Lord is very much of Lieſly's ſide, which makes great heart burning on y^{e} other ſide w^{ch} makes things y^{t} were almoſt fforgot revived; Praying yo^{r} Hon^{r} to pardon y^{e} trouble of theſe long Scrols from yo^{r} Ex^{ncys} moſt humble & moſt faithfull

Obedient ſervt

ROB: SNEAD.

A true Coppy

FFN NICHOLSON.

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PART OF A

" *Memorandum of ſeveral matters re-*
" *lating to Maryland and Penſil-*
" *vania dictated to me by y^e Go-*
" *vernor of Maryland at Patuxent*
" *May* 26^th 1698."

The Caſe of Maryland and Penſilvania.

MARYLAND lyes under great inconveniencye by the Remiſſion of Government in Penſilvania, by their illegall Trade, and by the manufactures there ſet up with which in time they will ſupply the wants of this Province.

Mr. Edward Randolph hath been lately there and diſcovered ſome late illegall practiſes in point of Trade and hath ſent home an account to the Comm^rs of the cuſtom houſe. As to their Civill Government all men know the partiall and foul

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judgement of the Quaker Juſtices. The only way to be ſatisfied is to ſend over or to appoint Commiſſioners to examine into their frauds and abuſes of all ſorts.

All which, will further appear by Mr. Pens letter to his Excellency by ſeeing how induſtrious He is to ſuppreſs any informations given againſt his illegall practiſes. Mr. Wm. Pens Subtle and

His Excellency thought it not expedient to anſwer Mr. Pens letter or to hold any correſpondence with him without your Lordſhips commands or direction which if He receive He doubts not but to give your Lordſhip full ſatisfaction.

The threatening expreſſions in Mr. Pens letter againſt Mr. Randolph are remarkable. And what he ſais about procuring for Coll: Fletcher the government of Maryland as in Coll: Bayards letter, By all which appears the deſign he has Fraudulent Dealing.

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to advance the Reputation of his intereſt in England by pretending to remove Governors and frighten inferiors into obedience unto himſelf by deterring them to give any accounts of his proceedings. And his excellency doubts not but that he will uſe all his intereſt to remove him for his endeavours to promote the churches and ſchools, and to oppoſe the illegallity of his Trade, his harboring of pyrates and entertaining runaway ſervants, and managing the Trade of Maryland both Lawfull and unlawfull—which that He might hinder his Ex^cy hath put them under reſtrictions by obliging their Traders to come to Annapolis and Williamſtadt. Theſe traders from Penſilvania pay nothing to the ſupport of the Government nor are of any uſe or defence unto it being of the Nature of Scotch Pedlars. In fine his Ex^cy takes his Ma^stys and Mr. Pens

Trade of Penſilvania and Maryland.

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intereſt to be as oppoſite as the french Trade hath been formerly to that of England. If Mr. Pen ſhould object that there is or can be no inland Trade from Penſilvania to Maryland it is obſerved that there are two or three paſſages, one from the head of Bohemia River to Apoquimini which is but 8 miles. From whence by ſleddes from boats They bring all manner of merchandiſe and run our Tobacco from hence. There is one other paſſage from the head of Elk river to Newcaſtle of 16 miles beſide other roads from the Lower parts of our country to wards theirs. Memorandum That an addreſs was made to the Lord Comm^{r} laſt year about the diviſionall line to be ſetled; The inhabitants of the two Provinces now ſeating themſelves every year nearer y^{e} one to y^{e} other ſo that there is no neceſſity to have this done.

His Ex^{y} deſires that if Mr. Pen

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The Governor Stands on his Vindication.

or any other perſon have anything to object to him That They may put the ſame in writing ſign it and give ſecurity to proſecute the accuſation that he may have his legall remedy againſt them if they fail to make it good. And that in ſuch caſe he may have leave to come over ſea and vindicate himſelf. And all his Ex^cys^ Friends are deſired not to concern themſelves about any ſuch reports but only aſſiſt him in obtaining ſuch leave for him, which if it be not to be done without quitting the Government he had rather quit that, than the Vindication of his Repute and Innocence.

Memorand :

Mr. Pepys.

That Mr. Pepys now a paſſenger from Penſilvania be called to give an account of their illegall management before he be taken off by Mr. Pen as was Mr. Jones.

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Letters of the Duchess of Atholl and Lady Catherine Stewart.

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14, Park Lane,
April 14, 1860.

Dear Milnes,

I HAD the accompanying copies of letters made from the originals, by Mr. Stewart, a gentleman of ancient family and fair eſtate in Scotland, who has for many years held the important office of Maſter of the Supreme Court in South Africa. He is deſcended from the writer of one of the letters. The originals are ſtill in his poſſeſſion at the Cape of Good Hope, together with many other important and intereſting family documents.

Truly yours,

G. Grey.

P.S.—Mr. Stewart made the notes

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attached to the letters. I brought them to England, intending to give them to Lord Macaulay, to whom I ſpoke about them a few days before his death. He was quite pleaſed at ſuch letters coming from ſo unexpected a place.—G. G.*

* Sir George Grey is too well known both as a linguiſt and a collector to require any introduction to the Philobiblon Society. He has lately printed the firſt and ſecond volumes of the Philological portion of his Library, containing The languages of South Africa (within the limits of Britiſh influence), 307 articles—of Africa (North of the tropic of Capricorn), 723 articles—of Auſtralia, 64 articles—of Papuan and Fiji, 68 articles—of New Zealand, 166 articles—of Polyneſia and Borneo, 383 articles.

R. M. M.

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COPY OF A LETTER

From JANE, *Ducheſs of Atholl,* addreſſed to the Right Hon^ble^ LADIE* NAIRNE† *att Nairne Houſe by Perth Scotland*

Free Atholl

London April y^e^ 29^th^ 1736

MADAM

I AM mighty glad y^r^ ladiſhip & family enjoys ſo good health this town is full of complaints proceeding from colds ſore throats & mea-

* Jane, Ducheſs of Atholl, widow of James Lannoy, Eſq., and daughter of Thomas Frederick, Eſq., eldeſt ſon of Sir John Frederick, Knight and Alderman; married James, ſecond Duke of Atholl: her only ſurviving child, Lady Charlotte Murray, married her couſin, John Murray, Eſq., who ſucceeded as third Duke.

† Lady Nairne, daughter and heireſs of Robert, firſt Lord Nairne, married Lord Wil-

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ſels both to old & young I Bleſs God my Dear Charlot has had y^m ſo favourable I flatter myſelf of my Dear Jenys Raſh was y^e meaſels w^ch woud be a great Bleſſing to be over ſo eaſy

I hope to ſettle my buſineſs ſoon & now propoſed to go for Scotland att y^e ſame time y^t my lord Duke goe for his kingdom Andrew Douglaſs is gone for y^e Iſle to ſettle matters (againſt my lords going there) with Governour Murray who is in full poſſeſſion of y^e Iland S^r Edward Stanly now Earl of Derby threatned to be troublſome but thought better of it I hope this week y^e Attorney Generall will make his report in favour of my lord for y^e Barony of Strange I wiſh he has time to take his

liam Murray, (a younger brother of the firſt Duke of Atholl,) who afterwards became ſecond Lord Nairne, in terms of the patent, and by whom ſhe had a numerous family.

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place this ſeſſion for they ſay y^e^ parlim^t^ will be up by y^e^ 20^th^ of May

I am glad to hear lady lude* is

* *Lady* Lude—ſo ſtyled, *more Scottico*,—was Charlotte Nairne, one of Lady Nairne's daughters, wife of John Robertſon, Eſq., of Lude. There is among the Nairne portraits, believed to be now at Tulliallan Caſtle, the ſeat of the Comteſs Flahault (Lady Nairne), an intereſting and meritorious painting by Kneller, which repreſents Charlotte Nairne as *Diana*, with bow and quiver, and a creſcent on her youthful forehead. A contemporary diary relates, that a few days after the arrival of Prince Charles Stuart, in Scotland, in 1745, on

"Auguſt 30th.—The Prince and his army "were at Dalnacardoch, a public houſe in "Wade's road from Inverneſs, as appears from "a letter, writ by the Duke of Atholl to a lady "(Mrs. Robertſon, of Lude, a daughter of "Lord Nairne) deſiring her to repair to Blair "Caſtle, to put it in ſome order, and to "do the honours of that houſe when the "Prince ſhould happen to come there, which "he did the day following, Auguſt 31ſt. I "ſaw the letter, and took the date of it. "'When the Prince was at Blair he went into "'the garden, and taking a walk upon the bow-"'ling green, he ſaid he had never ſeen a bow-

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like to increaſe her family ſhe is ſo good a nurſe y^t it woud be pitty ſhe ſhoud not be in full employm^t for y^e good of y^e commonweal I hope theres no Danger of ludes leg a cut being leſs hazardous y^n a bruiſe

" 'ling-green before; upon which the above
" 'lady called for ſome bowls, that he might ſee
" 'them, but he told her that he had got a
" 'preſent of bowls ſent him, as a curioſity, to
" 'Rome from England.'

" September 2nd, he left Blair, and went to " the Houſe of Lude."

According to another account,

" At Blair he ſpent two days, during which " he was joined by Lord Nairne, a cadet of " the great horſe of Atholl, and by ſeveral " gentlemen of the country. At Lude, the " ſeat of a chieftain of the clan Robertſon, to " which he next proceeded, he was very " cheerful, and took his ſhare in ſeveral dances, " including minuets, and Highland reels. The " firſt tune he called for, was the well-known " Jacobite one, 'This is no mine ain horſe.' " Proceeding down the Blair or plain of Atholl " he arrived on the 3rd September at Dunkeld, " and next day he dined at Nairne Houſe, be- " tween that town and Perth."

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heres a watter ſold y^t^ cures every thing its tryed for I intend to bring a cargo of it to Scotland as being an exceeding good thing in a family

theres a ſhip come from Maderaſs but can not hear of Mr. william nairine till he comes w^ch^ is expected two or three months ſince lord Frederick Murray is come from liſbon, & is paid off with 7 ſhips more y^t^ came with his w^ch^ ſhowes y^e^ peace is like to continue y^e^ landed people are pleaſed with it but y^e^ ſeamen and ſoldiers are very ſorry

I Dont hear y^t^ your ladisſhips cauſe has yett bin before y^e^ lords no Doubt y^r^ agent will take Care y^t^ its finiſht this Seſſion y^e^ lords have had very little trouble this meeting but y^e^ comons have had many tedious Day eſpecialy ab^t^ y^e^ Yorkſhire Election w^ch^ is lik to kill y^e^ ſpeaker fer he cannt ſave himſelf y^e^ other gentlemen may ſometimes y^e^ counteſs of

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Malton & Sir Roland Wynnes lady with a vaſt attendance of ladies attend cloſe every day y^t^ Election is heard much good may it Do y^m^ to ſett in y^e^ gallery from one a clock till 8 or 9 att night lord Duplin has quited y^e^ houſe to his antagoniſt

on Sunday between one & two an expreſs arrived att y^e^ Kings cloſſett in S^t^ James Chapell with a letter to y^e^ King, & another to y^e^ prince to acquaint y^m^ y^t^ y^e^ princeſs of Saxe Gotha* was by y^t^ time landd att Greenwich this put y^e^ whole Court your ladiſhip may beleive, in a Great hurry y^e^ prince went & ſaw her y^t^ night all w^ch^ you ſee in y^e^ newſpapers y^e^ peers & peereſſes had orders on monday to be in their weding cloths att S^t^ James on tueſday which all y^t^ had y^m^ ready

* Caroline, afterwards Queen of George the Second.

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did & a very ſplendid appearance there was one a clock was y^e^ hour apointed y^e^ King & Queen came in a^bt^ half an hour after one & waited in y^e^ Drawing Room till three before y^e^ princeſs came y^e^ prince of Wales led her in & both kneeled to y^e^ King who raiſed her and kiſſed her while ſhe made an offer to kiſs his hand y^e^ ſame ceremony was profromed to y^e^ Queen after which they converſed ſome time together & y^n^ y^e^ King and Queen went out y^e^ prince immediatly took y^e^ princeſs by y^e^ hand & followed.

A^bt^ nine a clock y^e^ princeſs Dreſſed in her robes & y^e^ coronett as princeſs of wales on her head came into S^t^ James Chapell led by y^e^ Duke & her train ſupported by y^e^ Duke of Devonſhires daughter lady Carolina Cavendiſh lady carolina lenoc duke of Richmond Daughter, y^e^

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Duke of Graftons daughter & lady ſophia farmer y^e^ Earl of pomfrett's daughter all Dreſſed in ſilver tiſſue ſtiffened bodyed coats richly trimed with ſilver point de ſpain & vaſt quaintys of Diamonds all over y^m^ I was quite charmed with y^m^ y^e^ prince of wales followed in a ſilver tiſſue coat &c trimed with point De Spain y^e^ ſleeves embroaidered with couloms after him came y^e^ King Queen princeſſes & y^e^ whole houſhold y^e^ knights of all y^e^ orders in their collars y^e^ Biſhop of london marryed y^m^ & after all y^e^ ceremonies were over they all marcht into y^e^ great Drawing room were but a few I amongſt y^e^ Reſt made y^e^ circle for y^m^ amoſt y^e^ whole people w^ch^ were in y^e^ chapell went to y^e^ ball Room where y^e^ ſupper was to gett ſeats but I choſe to go with y^m^ to y^e^ Drawing Room att ten y^e^ Duke of

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Devonſhire ld ſtewart told ye King ſupper was ready & yn ye Royall family went to ye ball Room hard was it for us yt paid our duty in ye Drawing Room not a ſeat to be had I ſtood till weary & yn went to ye great appartment where I eaſily gote a ſeat & reſted myſelf till I thought ſupper was near over wch I gueſſed to a minuete as ſoon as I came back they riſe & went into ye Prince of Wales appartmt I followed ye train but in great hazard of being pulled to peices we all waited till ye prince & princeſs were a bed & yn ye bed chamber door was flung open & ye whole croud went in ye King ſtood on ye right hand ye Queen on ye left att ye foot of ye bed & princeſs Emelia ſtood by ye princeſs of wales ye Duke by ye prince we made our honours & ſo marcht off very

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lamely by ſtanding ſo long & crouded to Death with y^e beſt Company nothing elſe being admited on wenſday morning we were ordered to be by 12 in y^e prince of Wales appartmt to be preſented w^n we were all aſſembled y^e prince was not out of bed ſo were obliged to ſtand god help us above two hours y^n we were admited and paſſed one by one up to y^e prince who kiſſed all y^e ladies & y^n preſented us to y^e princeſs either to kiſs her hand or her cheek as our Rank deſerved y^n we went to y^e great Drawing Room & made y^e circle as uſual & very glad when diſmiſed as y^r ladiſhip will beleive being a very hote day heavy cloths a vaſt croud & had being ſtanding above 3 hours I beg pardon for intruding ſo much on y^r patience beleiving it might Divert I have not

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Room to ſay more but y^{t} I am always with y^{e} greateſt Reſpect y^{r} ladiſhips moſt obedient

(Signed) J. ATHOLL

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G. TENANT.

Cape Town, Aug. 1859.

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COPY OF A LETTER

From Lady Catherine Stewart, to Miſs Mercer,† of Aldie.*

Ed^{r} Oc^{ber} 31 1746

MY DEAR COUSIN

I RECEIVED your kind letter with great pleaſure I have been juſt up at the Caſtle I went up to my Dinner & ſtayed till late at Night & I was

* Lady Catherine Stewart, daughter of Alexander, ſixth Earl of Galloway, by his ſecond Counteſs, Lady Catherine Cochrane, third and youngeſt of the three beautiful daughters of John, fourth Earl of Dundonald, ſiſter of Anne, Ducheſs of Hamilton, and Suſan, Counteſs of Strathmore. She married, in 1752, her couſin, James Murray, Eſq., of Broughton, M.P., and had one daughter, who died unmarried. Lady Catherine was very young when ſhe wrote this letter, and although her political opinions appear to have been ſufficiently decided, it is apparent that her education, at leaſt in orthography and punctuation,

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keeping my Hallow Even with my good Lady Strathallin* I am very ſory to hear of your Uncle bein Dead in the Priſon they ſay he was very ill uſed & they would not give him Chriſtian Bural ſure never was

was imperfect. This young lady does not even take the precaution of old lady Perth, who ſaid that "when ſhe met with a difficulty "in ſpelling"—which was very often,—"ſhe "juſt put a *ſcart* under the word, in order that "if incorrect, '*they might tak it for wit.*'"

† Miſs Mercer, daughter of the Honble. Robert Nairne, by Jane Mercer, heireſs of the ancient family of Mercer, of Aldie, in the county of Perth, on which marriage he aſſumed the name of Mercer. He was killed at the battle of Culloden, in 1746. Miſs Mercer was niece of Lady Strathallan.

* Margaret, Viſcounteſs of Strathallan, eldeſt daughter of Lord William Murray, ſecond Lord Nairne, married William, the fourth Viſcount of Strathallan, who was killed at Culloden. Lady Strathallan was for her activity in ſupport of the Chevalier committed priſoner to Edinburgh Caſtle, on the 11th Feb. 1746, and confined there till 22nd Nov. following, when ſhe was liberated on bail.

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ſuch cruelties heard of as thoes which this Curſed Hanovirien Family are gilty of but I ſtill hope that their punniſhment will come in its due time incloſed is Major Mac Donalds ſpeech I hope my Dear Miſs Mercer is not ſo fooliſh as to think ſhe is to get of ſcot free when I ſend you papers of ſo much value I will deſire no other return but long letterer from my Dear Couſin Mrs Black is very well I ſaw her laſt night I was ſeeing Miſs Mac Donald* but the

* Flora Macdonald, a name familiar in Scottiſh ſong and ſtory, and too well-remembered in connection with the ſufferings of the Prince to require elucidation.

"Bonny Charlie's now awa'
Safely o'er the friendly main,
Mony a heart will break in twa'
Should he ne'er come back again."

Flora Macdonald was ſeized by an officer and party of Soldiers, immediately after the departure of the Prince, and having been tranſferred to the ſhip "Bridgewater," was on board that veſſel in Leith Roads, until the 7th Nov.

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Captain was much in the Cabin with us ſo I could not get much talking with her She only told me that the Prince was very well when ſhe left him & that at the partin he ſaid he hoped yet to reward her at Saint James I wiſh to God how ſoon that may hapen their was a great Aſſemble yeſterday it was a worthy occaſion or els not My Lord Albemarl is to have a Ball on Monday their is to be no healths of ſertain folks drunk becauſe of the Jacobite Ladys I am ſure I wont go for I think deverſions ſutes very ill with our ſituation at preaſent Lord knows how it may alter fer with him nothing is impoſſible perhapes I may ſend you more ſpeeches if I can get Copies of

1746, when ſhe was conveyed to London, and left in honourable captivity in the houſe of a private family, until the paſſing of the Act of Indemnity in 1747, when ſhe was diſcharged without being aſked a ſingle queſtion.

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them I will I wiſh you may reed this ſcrall being very Late & in great haſte pray make my compliments to all my Friends & tell Miſs Murray I would have wrote her but had not time but I could not think of miſing any opertunity of writing to my Dear Miſs Mercer no more at preaſent but that I am my Dear Madam your moſt afft Couſin, & very Humble Servant

(Signed) CATH STEWART

theſe lines was upon Lord Balmerons Tomb

Here Arthur Lies the reſt forbear
there may be treaſon in a Tear
but yet this Rebel may find Room
Where Sceptered monarchs ſeldom come

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Cape Town, Aug. 1859.

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NOUVELLES

PLAISANTES RECHERCHES

D'UN HOMME GRAVE SUR

QUELQUES FARCEURS.

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NOUVELLES PLAISANTES RECHERCHES.

S'OCCUPER ſous le rapport bibliographique ſeulement, des livres de facéties et des contes à rire, en ſe bornant rigoureuſement à ceux qui ſont rares et recherchés, parait de prime abord un travail de bibliophile dont les limites ſont très reſtreintes, mais en examinant la queſtion de plus près, on eſt tout étonné de trouver que non ſeulement ces raretés ſe comptent par centaines, mais encore que quelques uns des plus ſavants et des plus ſérieux écrivains de l'Europe tant en France, qu'en Angleterre, en

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Allemagne et en Italie,* ont conſacré leur temps et leur labeur à publier ou à annoter ces ſortes de livres.

C'eſt que la ſageſſe et la plaiſanterie ſont les deux extrêmes entre leſquels viennent ſe claſſer tous les réſultats de l'intelligence humaine. La Nature prend ſouvent la fantaiſie de mêler enſemble ces deux éléments. Par ce mélange, la vie acquiert un côté comique qui indemniſe de l'amertume des réalités et de l'incertitude de l'idéal. Partout il y a eu des ſages aimant à plaiſanter et des fous pleins de ſageſſe. C'eſt la conſéquence du cercle inévitable dans lequel tournent nos idées. Une des nations où la raiſon a jeté ſes plus profondes racines, a créé un type national, dans Tiel Ulenſpiegle, de la

* Qu'il nous ſuffiſe de citer Le Pogge, Raynaldo da Mantua, Georgio Alione, Lappenberg, Thomas Murner, l'évêque Gibſon, Docteur King, Drummond, Leber, Guſtave Brunet, de Montaiglon, &c. &c.

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perſonnification de la bonne humeur et de la ruſe, du ſérieux et du badinage, dont Thomas Murner a montré quelle pouvait être la valeur, ſous le rapport eſthétique. Les Italiens poſſèdent des livres du même genre dans *Bertoldo* et ſon parent en folie, *Bertoldino*, ainſi que dans *Cacaſenno*. A la même claſſe appartient encore le conte de nourrice des Eſpagnols, nommé *Timoneda* et le roman de *Lazarille de Tormes*. Afin de ne pas ſortir pour le moment de ces ſortes de récit, que l'on pourrait appeler typique, nous remarquerons que chez le Turcs, chez qui le ſérieux, la tranquillité et le repos ſont de l'eſſence de leur nature orientale, il exiſte auſſi un narration populaire d'une biographie comique du même genre. Comme elle eſt preſque inconnue à tous les bibliographes, nous entrerons dans quelques détails à ce ſujet.

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Lappenberg nous apprend* que Herr Schott préſenta à la claſſe de philoſophie et d'hiſtoire de l'académie de Berlin, le 2 Mai 1852, une notice ſur *Naſſreddin Chodſa*, l'Ulenſpiegel des Turcs. Malheureuſement c'eſt tout ce que le ſavant Lappenberg nous en dit. Nous avons en vain cherché de plus amples renſeignements dans les deux éditions des *Early Proſe Romances* de Mr. Thoms,† où ſe trouve une vie du farceur allemand, ainſi que dans la préface bibliographique étendue et très complette écrite par Mr Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie pour la belle édition avec gravures des aventures de *Owlglas*, récemment publiée par M. Trübner ;‡ nous n'avons rien pu trouver.

* Thomas Murners Ulenſpiegel, herauſgegeben von J. M. Lappenberg. Leipzig, 1854. 1 vol. en 8vo.

† Londres, Pickering, 3 vols. en 8vo. ; et Nattali, 1859, auſſi 3 vols. en 8vo.

‡ Londres, 1860, 1 vol. en 8vo.

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Les Dictionnaires bibliographiques ſont également muets au ſujet de *Naſſreddin*. Diſons-on en donc quelques mots.

Il eſt comme ſon camarade allemand, tour à tour plein de ſaillies, niais et lourd, ruſé et adroit, mais conſervant toujours ſon type national.

Chodſa Naſſreddin Effendi vécut, ſelon toute apparence, dans l'Aſie Mineure, il y a environ 250 ans. Dans ſa jeuneſſe il parcourut le pays, s'arrêtant de côté et d'autre, ſelon les circonſtances.

Il devint maître d'école, et en conſerva le nom de *Chodſcha* (profeſſeur, maître); on rapporte même qu'il fut promu au rang de *Kadi* (magiſtrat), ce qui lui permit de prendre le nom d'*Effendi* (ſeigneur). On raconte que dans ſa jeuneſſe il paſſait pour être privé de raiſon, et dans pluſieurs des anecdotes racontées de lui, il prend ce caractère, ſoit qu'il fut tel

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en effet, ſoit qu'il affecta de l'être. On ſait que chez les Turcs les êtres privés de raiſon ſont regardés comme doués d'une ſorte d'inſpiration, et ayant en eux un ſens ſi profond que c'eſt la faute des hommes s'il ne peuvent découvrir la liaiſon de leurs idées, et leur véritable appréciation des choſes. Auſſi ces ſortes de perſonnes, pourvu qu'elles ſoient d'une nature inoffenſive, jouiſſent en Turquie des mêmes libertés, de la même attention et de la même ſympathie que les enfants; même il ſe joint à ces ſentiments quelque choſe de religieux, comme ſi ces infortunés ſe trouvaient plus particulièrement les protégés de Dieu.

Les anecdotes ſur Maître Naſſreddin ſont conſervées en partie manuſcrites, en partie par la tradition populaire. Ces aventures ont pour les Turcs un attrait incroyable. Partout où elles ſont racontées ou lues, dans les cafés, ſur les marchés, dans

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les caravanſerails et dans les Harems, on eſt ſûr d'obtenir la plus grande attention, et elles ont même été tranſcrites par des Muſulmans d'une haute gravité.

Un recueil de ſes principales aventures a été compoſé en Allemand, tant d'après des manuſcrits Turcs, que d'après la tradition orale, par Chriſtian Guillaume Huber.

Comme ce recueil eſt peu connu, nous en extrairons deux ou trois récits.

Les parents de Naſſreddin étaient très pauvres, et vivaient dans une chetive cabane aux environs de Damas. Leur fils dont ils voulaient faire un conducteur de chameaux, avait déjà été renvoyé par pluſieurs maîtres, à cauſe de ſa conduite excentrique que les uns attribuaient à la folie, les autres à la malice. On lui laiſſait donc faire à peu près ce qu'il voulait. Souvent, après qu'il avait erré pendant

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pluſieurs jours dans les campagnes, il cherchait à gagner quelque pièce de monnaie, afin de la rapporter à la maiſon pour éviter d'être battu, et à cet effet, il gardait le cheval de quelque voyageur, ou bien lui ſervait de guide. Naſſreddin couvrait ſouvent du manteau de la folie des actes qui lui euſſent attiré un châtiment ſévère, mais qu'on lui pardonnait parcequ'on le regardait comme privé de ſens commun.

Un jour qu'il était entré, en franchiſſant le mur, dans un jardin plein de fruits délicieux dont il rempliſſait ſes poches, après en avoir mangé tout ſon ſaoul, le propriétaire le ſurprit, et le ſaiſſant par les oreilles : " Comment, petit voleur, " es-tu entré ici ?" lui demanda-t-il.— " D'une manière très étonnante, répliqua de ſuite notre gaillard, prenant un air ſtupide et regardant fixément le maître: " La tempête m'a tranſporté

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" juſqu'ici par un coup de vent."— " Et comment ces poires et ces raiſins " ſont-ils en tes mains?"—" Comme " le vent me pouſſait de côté, je me " ſuis accroché aux arbres, et les fruits " me ſont reſtés dans les mains."— " Mais tes poches, malheureux, com- " ment ſe ſont-elles ainſi remplies?" —" C'eſt juſtement à cela que je " penſais," répondit ſans héſiter Naſſ-reddin, " lorſque vous m'avez ſurpris " et interrompu dans le cours de mes " penſées." Le maître ſe prit à rire, et reſpectant l'idiot, le mit à la porte, ſans le battre.

Il ſupportait toujours avec un grand calme les contrariétés et les déſappointments qui ne lui arrivaient que trop fréquemment, et ils étaient même parfois l'occaſion d'un bon mot.

Ses parents étant bien pauvres, l'envoyaient ſouvent dehors ſans manger, diſant qu'il était aſſez grand et fort pour gagner ſa vie, ſinon qu'il n'avait

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qu'à vivre d'aumônes. Dans l'une de ces occaſions, il avait beaucoup marché ſans qu'on lui eut donné rien qu'un vieux pain bien dur, lorſqu'il arriva fatigué ſur les bords d'un étang où ſe jouaient bon nombre de canards ſauvages. Saiſi du déſir d'en attraper un, il ſe gliſſe tout doucement entre les branches du taillis qui bordait l'eau, et allongeant vivement le bras, cherche à prendre l'un des canards. Ceux-ci effrayés, s'envolent, et ſemblent par leurs cris bruyants railler la piteuſe figure de Naſſreddin. Mais lui prenant philoſophiquement ſon parti, s'aſſied ſur le bord de l'étang et ſe met à y tremper ſon pain à pluſieurs repriſes. Quelques jeunes garçons témoins de toute cette ſcène, ſe mirent à ſe moquer de lui, demandant s'il croyait par là attirer de nouveaux canards. "Nullement," répliqua-t-il avec calme, "mais comme "je ne puis avoir le rôti lui-même, je

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" veux au moins tremper mon pain
" dans la ſoupe de canard."

Un autre jour, également pouſſé par la faim, il entre dans un village, et ſe mettant à marcher très gravement, il traverſe la rue principale en criant à haute voix: " Que ceux " qui ſont à l'extrémité, s'adreſſent à " moi! toute maladie eſt obligée de " céder à mon art! J'ai appris les " ſecrets d'un médecin Franc, et je " ne veux être payé qu'après guériſon " complette!" Les gens du village s'attroupent, et un payſan s'approchant, lui dit: " Maître, mon fils eſt mortelle- " ment malade, eſſayez votre ſcience " ſur lui, et ſauvez-le." Naſſreddin conſent et ſuit le payſan. Conduit devant le malade, il lui tâte le pouls, et ſecouant la tête d'un air penſif: " Procurez moi," dit-il, " du miel, du " beurre et du pain, mettez tout cela " dans la chambre voiſine, et n'oubliez " pas d'y mettre auſſi un couſſin pour

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" m'y aſſeoir. Quand tout ſera prêt, " retirez vous vite, et laiſſez moi ſeul " avec le malade." On lui obéit promptement. Alors Naſſreddin va ſoigneuſement fermer les portes, ſe retire dans la chambre où eſt le miel, le beurre et le pain, s'aſſied ſur le couſſin, et ſe met à manger avidement ces proviſions. Au bout de quelque temps, après s'être bien repu, il ſe rendit auprès du malade qui était véritablement à l'agonie, et avait perdu la parole, ce que voyant notre docteur, il va ouvrir la porte de communication, appelle gravement les parents et leur dit: "Dieu eſt grand, il eſt juſte! " Allah eſt ſon prophète. Votre fils " doit mourir; c'eſt ainſi qu'il était " écrit. Ma ſcience eſt vaine contre " les décrets du Très Haut. Auſſi je " ne vous demande rien pour mes " peine." Puis il ſortit magiſtralement de la cabane.

Vers l'âge de vingt ans, las de

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végéter dans ſon village, et auſſi par ſuite d'une mauvaiſe plaiſanterie qui aurait rendu la place intenable, il la quitta pour n'y plus revenir, et parcourut preſque toute la Turquie et une grande partie de l'Aſie, éprouvant tour à tour les divers caprices de la fortune.

Nous avons dit plus haut qu'à la fin, nouveau Gil Blas, il occupa même le poſte de Kady, et fut connu du Sultan qui s'amuſait de ſes réparties originales.

Mais revenons à l'hiſtoire qui l'engagea à abandonner ſon lieu natal. S'étant un jour pris de querelle avec un conducteur de chameaux, celui-ci lui donna un ſi violent coup de bâton ſur la tête, qu'il tomba évanoui ſous la table. Ayant repris ſes ſens, Naſſreddin voulut faire punir l'agreſſeur, et le fit ſommer devant le Kady. Malheureuſement le conducteur de chameaux était dans les bonnes grâces

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de ce magiſtrat qui déclara que d'après la loi, les us et coutumes, l'accuſé en ſerait quitte en payant deux ſols de dommages et intérêts.

Le condamné prétextant n'avoir pas l'argent ſur lui, quitta la ſalle pour aller le chercher, et Naſſreddin attendit ſon retour, le Kady continuant à entendre des cauſes. Les affaires terminées, tout le monde avait quitté la ſalle, exceptés Naſſreddin, qui attendait patiemment et le magiſtrat qui écrivait tranquillement ſans faire la moindre attention à lui. Voyant bien qu'il était joué, notre malheureux réſolut de ne pas accepter le rôle de battu et content et s'approchant du Kady: "Seigneur," dit-il, "vous avez décidé "que d'après la loi, les us et coutumes "la compenſation pour un coup de "bâton ſur la tête, était de deux ſols; "le condamné eſt allé les chercher. "Comme je ne puis attendre plus

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" longtemps, veuillez, quand il re-
" viendra, les prendre pour vous." Là deſſus, il aſſaîna un grand coup de poing ſur la nuque du magiſtrat, et s'enfuit à toutes jambes.

Nous bornerons ici nos extraits, en ajoutant ſeulement que, comme un grand nombre de ſes confrères, Naſſreddin ſur le point de mourir, ne voulut pas quitter la vie ſans une dernière eſpièglerie. Il pria ſes amis de prendre grand ſoin de ne pas l'enterrer dans un tombeau neuf, mais au contraire, de chercher le plus vieux poſſible. Lorſqu'on lui demanda la raiſon d'un pareil déſir: " C'eſt," dit-il, " parceque la religion du Prophète
" nous enſeigne qu'après la mort, les
" deux anges Munkir et Nekir vien-
" nent nous interroger ſur notre con-
" duite durant la vie, et nous jugent
" en conſéquence. Or lorſqu'ils me
" trouveront dans un vieux tombeau,
" ils me conſidéreront comme ayant

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" déjà été examiné, et ne m'interro-
" geront pas."

M. Lappenberg qui, à notre connaiſſance, eſt le premier qui ait parlé de l'*Ulenſpiegle Turc*, dans l'ouvrage cité au commencement de cette notice, nous apprend en outre que des voyageurs modernes ont fait mention auſſi d'un *Ulenſpiegle Egyptien* qui avait vécu, il y a longtemps, parmi le peuple. Contrairement à l'habitude du ſavant Allemand, il ne cite aucune authorité à l'appui de ſon aſſertion, et nous n'avons pu découvrir ni la collection de ces aventures, ni les auteurs qui en ont parlé.

Maintenant ſi nous avions à examiner lequel de ces Eſpiègles Allemand, Français, Italien ou Turc, à droit d'être conſidéré comme un perſonnage réel, nous devrions décider en faveur du dernier, car tout tend à prouver que Naſſreddin a vécu, tandiſque le type le plus connu en Europe, comme Lappen-

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berg l'a montré, a été compoſé par le moine allemand Murner, qui eſt allé puiſer à pleine main dans divers recueils et ſurtout dans celui de Gonella, fou en titre d'office du Prince Nicolas d'Eſte et de ſon fils Borſo, Duc de Ferrare. Les eſpiègleries de Gonella furent arrangées et augmentées par Reynaldo de Mantoue, ſous le titre de : *Facecie del Gonella, compoſte per maeſtro Franceſco, dicto maeſtro Raynaldo da Mantua.* Ce recueil fut publié à Bologne par Juſtiniano da Rubiera en 1506, en 4°, avec deux gravures ſur bois. Il ſe compoſe de 29 ſtanſes en vers, de huit lignes chacune, et réunit la plupart des plaiſanteries de Gonella.* Le moine Franciſcain Murner, qui compoſa la

* Il eſt inutile de faire mention du grand nombre de recueils italiens, ſous le nom de *Facecie e Burli*, etc., dans leſquels une partie de ces hiſtoriettes a été reproduite en proſe. Ils ont peu ou point de valeur, comparativement à l'opuſcule dont nous nous occupons.

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collection de récits facétieux, connue sous le nom d'*Aventures d'Ulenspiegel*, et qui les publia à Strasbourg en 1519, doit avoir eu sous les yeux un exemplaire de l'opuscule, fort rare aujourd'hui, de Gonella, imprimé treize ans auparavant, car un grand nombre des plaisanteries de Murner sont prises dans ce recueil qui présente la réunion la mieux écrite des faits et gestes de notre farceur italien. Ce petit poème de 1506, n'a point été réimprimé, à notre connaissance, aussi est-il si rare que le savant Lappenberg l'inséra en 1854 dans le curieux volume qu'il publia à Leipzig sur l'œuvre de Thomas Murner. Disons en passant qu'une certaine importance historique s'attache à ce moine facétieux,* car il se mêla de la que-

* On peut sans offense lui donner cette épithète, vu qu'il est également l'auteur de *Narrenbeschwerung* (la conspiration des fous), du *Schelmenzunft* (le corporation des fripons), et autres ouvrages satyriques *ejusdem farinæ*.

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relle entre Henri VIII. et Luther, et publia un livret en faveur du premier. Le Roi d'Angleterre lui fit donner cent livres par le Cardinal Wolſey, pour cet ouvrage qui ſe compoſe d'un dialogue fort ennuyeux entre Henri VIII, Luther et Murner lui-même.

Mais revenons à Gonella qui ſervit pour ainſi dire de type à l'*Ulenſpiegle* de Murner; car quoiqu'il y inſéra auſſi des hiſtoriettes puiſées dans d'autres ouvrages du même genre, tels que *Le Prêtre Amis*, *Le Curé de Kalenberg*, *les facéties du Pogge*, *les cente Novelle antiche*, *Bebelinus et Morlini*,* ce fut ſurtout le fou de cour de Nicolas d'Eſte qui lui fut le plus utile. Or par ſuite de l'axiome *habent ſua fata libelli*,† c'eſt préciſément le recueil

* Voir, pour les détails, le livre de Lappenberg déjà cité.

† Demi vers de *Terentius Maurus*, et non d'Horace ou d'Ovide, ainſi qu'on l'a crû parfois.

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en vers de ſes facéties que l'on connait le moins aujourd'hui.

Afin que les curieux puiſſent s'en former une idée, nous reproduirons ici, à cauſe de ſa rareté, le petit poème de Raynaldo da Mantua, d'après le texte de Lappenberg.

Le poète commence par déclarer qu'il renonce, pour ſes chants, à la Lyre d'Orphée, et qu'il n'invoquera ni Polymnie, ni Minerve, ni aucun demi dieu, mais qu'il s'accompagnera avec la flute d'un ſatyre.

I.

Io laſſaro chiamar la lira Orpheo
E Polimnia e Minerua, a quel poeta
Che l'acqua tolſe al fonte pegaſeo
E a l'ombra del Parnaſo pon la meta :
Ne cerchero niuno altro ſemideo,
Ne l'opra eruda, abenche el non ſe veta :
Ma d'un Satyro o Phaono la ciampogna
I' chiamero : quel non me fia vergogna.

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2.

E del Gonella cantaro a mio modo
Qualche facecie in queſta octava rima.
Et ſe ben vi ſera errore o frodo,
Nel baſſo ſtille niun ſi'n fazza ſtima,
Et ſe'l Mantuan Raynaldo merta il ſlodo,
Como colui che tal verſi non lima,
A voſtro modo fati, el bene vi naſca,
Pur che quatrini a me vengano in taſca.

3.

Mentre il Gonella ſi era fanciulletto
Di ſette o otto anni, ſi hebe ad amalare.
El Ducha di Ferrara per diletto
Ogni giorno lo andaua a viſitare.
Il che vedendol de appetito abietto,
L'ebe il ſignor con prieghi a dimandare:
"Gonellin mio, ti vien di niente voglia?
Di' mel, figliol, non ſtar de mala voglia."

4.

Riſpoſe el Gonellin: "Temo e ho vergogna
A dimandar quel che mangiar vorrei,
Ma ſe i mei ſpirti e il ceruel non mi ſogna,
Se ne mangiaſſi certo, i' guarirei;
Ma nol vo' dir, perche gli e vna poltrogna,
E portaro pacientia ai dolor mei."
Riſpoſe il ducha: "Dil, ſe Dio te ayta,
Dillo, figliol, ſe'l ſuſſe bene vſcita."

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5.

Diſſe il Gonella: " O ſignor, tu l'ai detto.
Voria de vn ſtronzo, habenche e diſoneſto.
I' l'ho chieſto a colui, che mi fa el letto;
Non mel vol dar: de', fa' mel dar tu preſto."
El duca, attento a farli ogni diletto,
Chiamo quel ſeruo, e diſſe: " I' ti proteſto,
Che ſe non fai cio che vol el Gonella,
Io faro ſpezar ti la ceruella."

6.

Odito queſto el bon Gonella chieſſe
Vno ſtronzo di ſopra nominato.
Il ſeruo timoroſo vn ſtronzo preſe,
Et ſopra vn quadro li hebe apreſentato.
Diſſe il Gonella: " Amico mio corteſe,
Habia me vn poco queſto maſticato.
Meti lo in boca e biaſucalo alquanto,
E lo appetito mi verra fra tanto."

7.

Coſtui non per ſeruir, ma per paura
Ne tolſe in bocca aſſai piu di vna preſa;
Biaſſato alquanto attarlo ſi procura,
Dicendo: "or to'!" con l'alma irata e acceſa,
Ma a dirli villania non ſe afficura,
Temendo non riceuer qualche offeſa.
El duca ſtaua pur arremirare,
Se'l Gonelin vol lo ſtronzo mangiare.

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8.

Mentre a veder qui ſtauan tutti quanti,
Riſpoſe el Gonellino al ſeruitore
Senza far riſo, con certi ſembianti:
"Tu ſempre me portaſti poco amore."
Et con certi atti e con ſingulti et pianti
Diſſe: "Tu li ciciaſti ogni ſapore,
Et or a me me porgi la vinaza.
Mo mangial tu; che'l mal pro ſi te faza!"

9.

El ducha delle riſa ſi ſcopiaua
Con tutti i circumſtanti, ch'auea intorno.
Coſi ridendo a diſinar ſi andaua,
Laſſando il ſeruo ſcornato e muſorno.
E vui, domini mei, ſe'l non ve agraua,
Preſtati me audientia in queſto giorno,
Che ve diro molte altre gentileze
Pur del Gonella e aſſai piaceuoleze.

10.

Fatto ormai hom el buffon nominato,
Vn giorno in chieſia a tempo de natale,
Hauendo il duca in doſſo vn bel brocato,
El bon Gonella, che par non ha equale,
Gli ebbe vn ſcartozo adoſſo riuerſato
Pien de pidochi, e in modo ſe preuale,
Che ognuno el vide, e poi da lui ſi ſcoſta,
Fin che i pedochi fanno la prepoſta.

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11.

Stando el ſignore il dir di vn miſerere,
Piglia vn pedochio, e dui, e ſette, e otto,
E il bon Gonella s'acoſta ad vedere,
E moſtra non ſaper, ſe non di botto:
" Spogliate," diſſe, " non ſtare aſſedere,
Mettite la mia veſta, e non far motto,
Che gli e vergogna. Oue diauol ſe' ſtato?"
E con tal cianza li tolſe el brochato.

12.

E mai piu al duca non reſe tal veſta,
Benche piu volte gli e' la adimandaſſe.
Ora aſcoltate quiui vn' altra feſta.
Par che'l ſignore el Gonella pregaſſe,
Che di mandar ſua moglie a lui non reſta.
Onde il Gonella par ſempre negaſſe,
Dicendo, gli era ſorda e mal parlaua,
E non odiua ſe'l hom non cridaua.

13.

Or diſſe el ducha: " Manda la ſi fatta;
Madama e inferma e'n hauera a piacere."
El Gonella alla moglie a dir ſe adatta,
Dicendo: " El ducha pur te tol vedere.
Va lo a ritrouar, e fa che tu ſia atta
Aſſalutar lo como gli e el douere,
Et ſe lo aduien, ch'el te parla per ſorte,
Cegna li, che'l e ſordo, e crida forte.

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14.

La donna attempo ſe ne va al ſignore
Et lo ſaluta como ſe fa vn ſordo.
El ducha con gran voce e gran clamore
La riſaluta, e ciaſchun par balordo.
Madama inferma, che odo tal cridore,
Manda a pregar, che non parlan ſi in gordo.
Diſſe el ſignor: "Coſtei e ſorda tanto,
Che affarla vdir conuien cridare alquanto."

15.

Diſſe la donna: "I' non ſon ſorda niente.
Seti pur vui, a me ditt'a el Gonella."
Reſto ſcornato il duca in quel preſente,
E di vergogna allhor piu non fauella.
La donna torno a caſa incontinente,
Tutta confuſa e barbotta e martella,
E coſi ſe pagon di tal derrate.
Or laſſian queſte e queſt' altre aſcoltate.

16.

Tre ciechi inſieme erano in domo allato,
Doue il Gonella li paſſo da preſſo,
E diſſe: "Allhor habiate Idio pregato
Tutti tre vui pel mio peccato expreſſo.
Queſto teſtone ve voglio hauer donato.
Partitel poi tra voi ſenza altro exceſſo."
Ognun diſſe: "Gran merce, Miſſer noſtro,
Nui pregaremo Idio per amor voſtro."

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17.

Giunta l'hora che fu del desinare,
Andando a casa diceua vn de quegli:
" Faciamo quel teston discambiare,
E partiren lo da tre bon fratelli."
Rispose vn altro: " Egli e cosa d'affar."
El terzo disse: " Or che tante zambegli,
Che lo scamb'." E quel disse: " Non io."
Il terzo disse: " Mancho io l'ho per Dio."

18.

Disse vn: "Tu l'ai, tu!" E lui disse: "Ne menti,
Donche l'ha questo." " Non ho." "I' ti conosco."
E non fecen tra lor parole venti,
Che adoperorno la sonza del bosco.
Et se non susse el passar delle genti,
Si serian morti; si eran pien di tosco.
Ognun credea che in lor fusse el dinaro,
Ma non l'hauea niun: questo e il diuaro.

19.

Or lassian questo e dician del Gonella.
Dal duca va; e' a caso era turbato.
" Signore, i' vo a Venetia," li fauella,
" Se tu vo' niente, i' te lo haro portato."
" I' voglio vn stronzo," li rispose in quella.
Tolse il buffon allhor da lui combiato.
Era gran gielo, e a pie vn pezo si auioe,
E a caso in vn gran stronzo se incapoe.

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20.

Su lo racolſe, che gli era zelato,
Poi lo fece coprir de vn zuchar fino.
Ora a breuiare: in Ferrara tornato,
Eſſendo il ducha di meglior latino,
Ando el Gonella a lui, come era vſato,
E doppo il bel ſaluto e il bello inchino
Diſſe il ſignore: "O! tu vien da Venegia:
A tu niente de bel che s'apregia?"

21.

Li vodo le biſſaze in ſu la tola.
Non v' era da veder ſe non el confetto.
Diſſe el Gonella: "Se hai longa la gola,
Mangia de queſto, ch'en harai dilecto."
Non li fece il ſignore altra parola,
Ne mangio vn poco ſenza altro ſuſpecto.
Diſſe el ſignor: "Jo odo vn puzor diſconzo."
Diſſe el Gonella: "Sta, che gli e el tuo ſtronzo."

22.

De li a piu giorni el Gonella a Mada
Li fece vn ſcrizo, che non li fu grato.
Onde turbata piu donzelle chiama,
E diſſe: "Ogniuna habia vn baſton parato,
Et ſe ciaſcuna, como credo, me ama,
Sopra al Gonella l'habia adoperato.
Faro lo qui venir. Ma ben guardate,
Che'l non ve habia con zanze auilupate."

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23.

Ciaſcuna dice: " Dica cio che vole,
Che lo refruſtraremo per Dio ſancto"
Madama a quello mando a dir, ſe'l puo' le,
Che lo prega, che venga da lei alquanto.
Coſi el Gonnella va fra quelle prole
E vede ogniuna che ha il baſtone a canto,
E per vſcirſe for di quella ſtanza
Al improuiſo ritrouo vna zanza.

24.

Dicendo: " I' ſo che mi voleti dare,
Che ben qui vedo piu baſton parati.
Ma vna ſol gratia vi vo' adimandare:
Che prima all' altre laſſar cominciati
A quella che piu volte hebi a baſare
Come putana e di prete e di frate.
S'ardiſcha contra la ſalute mia,
Ora comincia tu, putana ria?"

25.

Ciaſcuna odendo tal nouela expoſta,
Diſſe fra ſe: " I' non ſon gia puttana."
Et al Gonnella niuna non s'accoſta;
Si che a Madama fu la impreſa vana.
Fuge el buffon e niente non ſe aroſta,
E la ſignora con la mente inſana
Odendo queſto le ripreſe aſſai.
Dicea ognuna: " Puttana non fu mai."

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26.

Non vargo tropo giorni che'l Gonnella
Ne fece un' altra. Or ſtati ad aſcoltare.
Hauea vn cauallo bolſo, ſenza ſella,
Vechio, malfattore, lo mando afferrare.
Vide el ſignore vna tal roza, in quella
Chiamo el Gonnella e diſſe: "Che voi fare
Di queſto morbo pien di mille mali?"
Diſſe el buffon: "Tu non hai boni ochiali."

27.

E comincio a lodar queſto cauallo,
E che piu alto di ſoi el ſaltarebbe;
Metria cento ducati ſenza fallo
Contra vn ſacco di gran, che'l vincerebe.
Or diſſe el duca, ſenza altro interuallo
Che'l menaſſe el caual che'l giocharebe.
La roza allhora fe il buffon menare
E ſu im palazo la fece montare.

28.

El ſimile monto il caual del duca,
Credendo ognun che in ſala ſe ſaltaſſe.
Il Gonnella il caual ſuo allhor trabucha,
E nel dar giu par che'l ciel ruinaſſe.
Se fracaſſo il caual come vna zucha,
Perche for d'un balchon par che lo vrtaſſe
Alto da terra forſi cento braza.
Diſſe il duca: "Non ſon ſi beſtia paza!

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29.

Piu preſto dalli vn bon ſacco di grano,
Che i mei caualli non ſan far quel ſalto."
E il bon Gonnella ſe ne va pian piano,
E tolſe vn ſacho trenta braze alto,
Andoſſe ne al granar preſto e toſtano
Empiello di formento ſenza iſmalto,
Perche quel ſacho era pur diſoneſto.
Nel altro canto i' ve diro poi il reſto.

Il n'eſt pas bien aſſuré que *Gonella* ſoit le nom patronimique de notre farceur. Le fameux *Scarlatano* fut ainſi nommé d'après l'habit écarlate qu'il portait, *Tabarin*, d'après ſon *tabar*, et peut-être Gonella reçut-il ce nom de la *gonne* ou *gonnelle*, ſorte de longue cotte dont il s'habillait.

M. Walckenaer, dans une note ſur le conte de l'*Ermite* par Le Fontaine, dit que le mot *gonne*, en ancienne langue Romane ſignifiait ſurtout une robe de moine, et qu'il croit qui le mot *Gonin* en eſt dérivé. On ſait que pluſieurs farceurs ſe firent appeler *Maître Gonin*, en France, à

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partir de celui qui égaya la cour de François I, et dont Brantôme, dans ſes *Hommes Illuſtres*, raconte pluſieurs tours. M. Edouard Fournier, au tome 5e de ſes *Variétés hiſtoriques et littéraires*, développe l'opinion de Walckenaer, et cite le petit fils du précédent Gonin qui faillit être pendu ſous Charles IX, et n'échappa, dit Delrio (Diſquiſitiones Magicæ, lib. 3) qu'en faiſant pendre à ſa place la mule du premier préſident.

Avant les *Tours de Maître Gonin*, par l'Abbé Bordelon, il en eſt queſtion dans *l'Hiſtoire Comique de Francion*, par Sorel, et dans une comédie de Dancourt : *La Maiſon de Campagne*. On trouve auſſi ce perſonnage en Allemagne, comme le prouve *Goerres*, dans ſon ouvrage ſur les *Livres populaires en Allemagne*, en parlant de l'hiſtoire du Docteur Fauſt.

Tous ces bouffons prirent leur nom de Pietro Gonella, célèbre par toute

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l'Europe, depuis le commencement du XVI^e^ ſiècle. *Le Buffonerie del Gonella*, dit M. Fournier, étaient ſi populaires en Eſpagne, que Cervantes, pour dépeindre d'un trait la maigreur de Roſſinante, ſe contente de dire, ſûr d'être compris, qu'il avait plus triſte apparence que le cheval de *Gonella*. C'était une alluſion à l'hiſtoire, tant de fois rajeunie depuis, de cette pauvre roſſe étique et décharnée qu'il avait parié de faire ſauter plus haut que le meilleur cheval du Duc de Ferrare. Il jeta ſa bête du haut d'un balcon, et le duc ne ſe ſouciant point de l'épreuve pour ſon cheval, Gonella gagna le pari.

Si nous avons cité les plaiſantes réparties de Gonella, à cauſe de la rareté de ce petit poème, un double motif nous engage à parler ici des *Merry Tales of the Wiſe Men of Gotham*, d'abord parcequ'ils ſont auſſi rares et

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de plus parceque nous les croyons complettement inconnus en France. Ces contes avaient été colligés et imprimés ſous une forme populaire, dès le commencement du XVI^e^ ſiècle.* Quoique réimprimé pluſieurs fois, on ne trouve plus ce livret aujourd'hui, et l'on n'en connait que trois exemplaires dans toute l'Angleterre, un au Muſée Aſhmoléen d'Oxford, et deux dans la Bibliothèque Bodléienne. En 1840, M^r^ J. O. Halliwell, un des premiers Philologues et Bibliophiles de la Grande Bretagne, déſireux de conſerver ce recueil de facéties, l'édita de nouveau, mais à un ſi petit nombre d'exemplaires, que ce n'eſt que par un grand haſard qu'on peut s'en procurer un aujourd'hui.

* Voir Eliot: Fruits from the French, p. 69. Warton: Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, t. 3, p. 356. Ritſon: Robin Hood. Les Ouvrages philoſophiques de More. Accidence of Armory par Leigh, édit. de 1597, fol., p. 134.

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Gotham eſt un modeſte village du Nottinghamſhire dont les habitants avaient la réputation d'être fort ſtupides, au point qu'ils ont donné lieu au proverbe : *être auſſi ſages que les habitants de Gotham.** La tradition

* Il eſt très difficile de remonter à l'origine de ces traditions qui affignent certaines qualités ou défauts aux habitants de certaines localités. La mémoire populaire les tranſmet d'âge en âge, et plus elles ſont anciennes, moins on peut généralement en découvrir la raiſon. Ce n'eſt pas toujours la vérité qui a préſidé à leur naiſſance. Dans les manuſcrits du 13me et du 14me ſiècle, on rencontre bon nombre de ces axiomes populaires tant en proſe qu'en vers. Mr. Thomas Wright, dans ſes *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, en 8vo, London, 1845, donne les deux exemples ſuivants puiſés à ces anciennes ſources.

" Invidia Judæorum. Ira Britonum. Per-
" fidia Perſarum. Fallacia Græcorum. Rapa-
" citas Romanorum. Aſtutia Ægiptiorum.
" Vana gloria Longobardorum. Hebetudo
" Bavariorum. Inſtantia Saxonum. Hoſpi-
" talitas Britonum. Libido Suevorum, etc. etc."

" Italici quæ non ſacra ſunt, et quæ ſacra vendunt.

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raconte comme ſuit, l'origine de ce proverbe anglais: Le Roi Jean ſe rendant à Nottingham, ſe propoſait de paſſer par ce village, mais les habitants s'y oppoſèrent parcequ'ils s'imaginaient que tout terrain ſur lequel paſſait le Roi, devenait à l'avenir une route publique. Le Roi irrité de ce procédé, envoya peu après un de ſes officiers demander la raiſon de cette incivilité, afin d'en punir les auteurs. Les villageois en apprenant l'arrivée de ce meſſager royal, ſongèrent à employer quelque moyen pour détourner la colère du Souverain. L'officier, en approchant du village, fut fort étonné de trouver un grand nombre des habitants occupés qui à noyer une anguille dans une marre d'eau, qui, conſtruiſant une haye autour d'un coucou perché ſur un arbre, afin

Allobroges de perfidiâ cunctì reprehendunt.
Gens tibi Flandrena, cibus eſt et potus avena.
Alvernus cantat, Brito notat, Anglia potat."

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de l'empêcher de s'envoler, en un mot tous travaillaient à des niaiſeries du même genre. L'envoyé retourna ſur ſes pas, convaincu que ce hameau n'était habité que par des fous.

La collection dont nous parlons ſe compoſe de vingt contes ſeulement, tous plus abſurdes les uns que les autres, et qui, d'après l'opinion de Mr Halliwell, ne remontent qu'à la première moitié du ſeizième ſiècle.

Nous donnons ici le ſujet de deux ou trois de ces hiſtoriettes, pour montrer que leur rareté eſt à peu près leur ſeul mérite.

Un habitant de Gotham porte du blé au marché, et dans l'intention de ſoulager la cheval qu'il monte, il ſe fait mettre le ſac ſur les épaules.

Pluſieurs habitants du même village vont à la pêche enſemble, et en retournant chez eux, ils s'imaginent avoir perdu en route un de leurs compagnons, parceque celui qui les paſſe

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en revue, ne ſe compte pas lui-même.

Un Gothamite ſe propoſe de couper les longs cheveux de ſa femme pendant qu'elle ſera endormie. Celle ci devine le projet, et l'élude en faiſant en ſorte que le mari coupe la chevelure de la ſervante. Puis la femme lui fait croire qu'il a coupé la queue de ſon cheval favori.

On voit que ces contes ne valaient guère la peine qu'on les réimprimât, et que ce n'eſt que leur rareté qui fait qu'on les recherche encore.

Dans la littérature anglaiſe, ces ſortes de recueils, poſſédant quelque valeur bibliographique, ſont en bien plus petit nombre que dans les littératures francaiſe et italienne, auſſi ſerait-il beaucoup plus facile de compoſer un eſſai ou réſumé de ce genre, en Angleterre, eſſai qui n'a pas encore été écrit, et qui nous pourrons tenter plus tard.

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Mr Henry Bohn* a donné récemment une liſte très étendue des livres anglais de facéties; mais il eſt à regretter qu'il n'y ait pas joint quelques obſervations bibliographiques ſur les plus curieux, la plupart n'ayant aucun genre de valeur.

* Nouvelle édition corrigée et conſidérablement augmentée du *Bibliographer's Manual of Engliſh Literature*, by W. F. Lowndes, London, 1860, Part V., p. 1200.

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ORIGINAL LETTERS OF DR. JOHNSON.

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PREFACE.

THERE can be no doubt that a grave queſtion exiſts as to the propriety of publiſhing poſthumous letters, and thus giving to the world that which was probably not intended for it by the author.

In every caſe of ſuch publication the reſponſibility muſt reſt upon the editor. Upon him muſt devolve the duty of guarding himſelf againſt the charge of pandering to a ſpirit of vain and idle curioſity, and of endeavouring improperly to raiſe the veil which time has thrown over actions and motives which might be better left in oblivion. Again, he is

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bound to ſee that a rational intereſt attaches to the matter with which he has to deal; and, above all, that no private feelings can be wounded by its publication.

I hope that the letters which I offer to the Members of the Philobiblon Society may not be found obnoxious to any of theſe charges, or wanting in the neceſſary requirements.

A ſpecial intereſt attaches to anything tending to elucidate the private and ſocial character of the man who has been ſo long looked upon as, perhaps, the greateſt Engliſh moraliſt and converſationaliſt, as well as to the nature and character of his relations with thoſe with whom he lived in habits of intimacy. His own eccentricities, and the peculiar characteriſtics of his friends, above all of his two principal biographers, have rendered the nature and quality

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of his friendſhip a matter of fair and legitimate ſpeculation; and any documents tending to throw a new light upon the ſubject, ſeem to me to be valuable, not only in a literary but in a pſychological point of view.

The impreſſion left upon my own mind by the letters now printed, and the large collection of which they form a part, is that Johnſon's regard was a gift far too weighty to be laid upon any but hearts of either more or leſs than ordinary capacity. It ſeems to me that minds which could for years ſtand the preſſure of a friendſhip ſo arbitrary and exacting, and accept advice given in a tone of ſuch inſolent ſuperiority, and with ſo abſolute a diſregard of the feelings of the recipient, muſt have poſſeſſed a more than ordinary ſhare of veneration, docility, and elaſticity. The long continuance of an intimacy formed and maintained under ſuch

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conditions, is to me a matter of more ſurpriſe than its ultimate diſruption.

Thoſe who are well acquainted with Boſwell's "Life of Johnſon," will at once recognize the name of Dr. Taylor as of frequent occurrence in its pages. He was a ſchool-fellow of Johnſon, and one of his earlieſt friends. The friendſhip then commenced ſeems to have had an uninterrupted continuance during a period of many years, and Dr. Taylor performed the laſt office of reading the funeral ſervice over the body of his early friend.

We find Johnſon on more than one occaſion admitting the cloſeneſs of the intimacy which united them, and the reſpect with which he regarded Dr. Taylor. He intimated to Mrs. Piozzi his intention of leaving to her the taſk of writing his

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life, with the aid of intelligence to be derived from Dr. Taylor, who, as he admitted, "was better ac- "quainted with his heart than any "man or woman now alive." On one occaſion Boſwell reports Johnſon to have ſaid of Dr. Taylor, "Sir, he has a very ſtrong under- "ſtanding," an opinion which has certainly not given the tone that might be expected to his letters.

Dr. Taylor was a prebendary of Weſtminſter, and incumbent of Market Boſworth. His reſidence at Aſhbourne, where he ſeems to have lived in comfort and opulence, was his by patrimonial and not by eccleſiaſtical tenure.

The letters, of which thoſe now printed form a ſmall portion, extend in an almoſt unbroken ſeries through the years from 1742 to 1790. They were the property of

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the Lady Frances Stephens, after whoſe demiſe they deſcended to her daughter, from whoſe hands they came into my poſſeſſion.

JOHN SIMEON.

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ORIGINAL LETTERS OF DR. JOHNSON.

DEAR SIR,

THE brevity of your laſt letter, gives me expectation of a longer, and I hope you will not diſappoint me, for I am always pleaſed to hear of your proceedings. I cannot but ſomewhat wonder that Seward ſhould give his living for the proſpects or advantages which you can offer him, and ſhould be glad to know your treaty more particularly. I think it not improper to mention that there is a flight report of an intention to make Lord Cheſterfield

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Lieutenant, of which, if I hear more, I will inform you farther.

I propoſe to get Charles of Sweden ready for this winter, and ſhall therefore, as I imagine, be much engaged for ſome months with the dramatic writers, into whom I have ſcarcely looked for many years.

Keep Irene cloſe. You may ſend it back at your leiſure. You have never let me know what you do about Mr. Par's affair, or what the official has decided. Eld is only neglected not forgotten.

If the time of the Duke's government ſhould be near expiration, you muſt cling cloſe, and redouble your importunities; though, if any confidence can be placed in his veracity, he may be expected to ſerve you more effectually when he is only a ſenator, than while he has ſo much power in another kingdom.

I am well informed that a few

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days ago Cardinal Fleury ſent to an eminent banker for money, and receiving ſuch a reply as the preſent low ſtate of France naturally produces, ſent a party of the guards to examine his books and ſearch his houſe, ſuch is the felicity of abſolute governments; but they found the banker no better provided than he had repreſented himſelf, and therefore broke part of his furniture, and returned.

It is aſſerted that the peace between Pruſſia and Hungary was produced wholely by the addreſs of Carteret, who having procured a copy of Broglio's orders at the very time that they were deſpatched, and finding them to contain inſtructions very inconſiſtent with a ſincere alliance, ſent them immediately to the King of Pruſſia, who did not much regard them, till he found that he was in purſuance of them expoſed

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without aſſiſtance to the hazard of the late battle, in which it is generally believed that he left more than twice as many as the Auſtrians.

He would then truſt the French no longer.

You ſee I am determined to write a letter, for I never was authour of ſo much political intelligence before.

I am, if the relief of uneaſineſs can produce obligations, more obliged to you for what I imagine you have now ſent Miſs, than for all that you have hitherto done for me.

Thurloe's Papers which coſt here 8*l.* 9*s.* 6*p.*, are intended to be reprinted in Ireland at four guineas. Methinks you ſhould ſend orders to Faulkner to ſubſcribe.

I am, dear Sir,

Your very affectionate,

June 10, 1742. SAM. JOHNSON.

Have you begun to write out your letters?

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DEAR SIR,

I PROMISED to write to you, and will now rather to keep my promiſe then that I have anything to ſay that might not be delayed till we meet. I know not how it happens, but I fancy that I write letters with more difficulty than ſome other people, who write nothing but letters; at leaſt I find myſelf very unwilling to take up a pen only to tell my friends that I am well, and, indeed, I never did exchange letters regularly but with dear Miſs Boothby.

However, let us now begin, and try who can continue punctually longeſt. There is this uſe in the moſt uſeleſs letter, that it ſhews one not to be forgotten, and they may at leaſt in the beginning of friendſhip, or in great length of abſence, keep memory from languiſhing; but our friendſhip has been too long to want ſuch helps, and

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I hope our abſence will be too ſhort to make them neceſſary.

My life admits of ſo little variety, that I have nothing to relate. You, who are married and a magiſtrate, may have many events to tell both foreign and domeſtick; but I hope you will have nothing to tell of unhappineſs to yourſelf.

I was glad of your proſpect of reconciliation with (——), which is, I hope, now completed. To have one's neighbour one's enemy is uncomfortable in the country, where good neighbourhood is all the pleaſure that is to be had. Therefore now you are on good terms with your neighbour, do not differ about trifles.

I am, dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate ſervant,

July 31, 1756. SAM. JOHNSON.

My compliments to your Lady.

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DEAR SIR,

You have no great title to a very ſpeedy anſwer, yet I did not intend to have delayed ſo long. I am now in doubt whether you are not come to town; if you are, double poſtage is a proper fine.

There is one reaſon why thoſe things are moſt ſubject to delays which we moſt deſire to do. What we think of importance we wiſh to do well; to do any thing well requires time, and what requires time commonly finds us too idle or too buſy to undertake it. To be idle is not the beſt excuſe; though if a man ſtudies his own reformation, it is the beſt reaſon he can allege to himſelf, both becauſe it is commonly true, and becauſe it contains no fallacy; for every man that thinks he is idle condemns himſelf, and has therefore a chance to endeavour amendment;

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but the buſy mortal has often his own commendation, even when his very buſineſs is the conſequence of idleneſs, when he engages himſelf in trifles only to put the ſtrength of more important duties out of his mind, or to gain an excuſe to his own heart for omitting them.

I am glad, however, that while you forgot me, you were gaining upon the affections of other people. It is in your power to be very uſeful as a neighbour, a magiſtrate, and a clergyman; and he that is uſeful muſt conduct his life very imprudently not to be beloved. If (——) makes advances I would have you not to reject them. You once eſteemed him, and the quarrel between you aroſe from miſinformation, and ought to be forgotten.

When you come to town let us contrive to ſee one another more frequently, at leaſt once a-week.

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We have both lived long enough to bury many friends, and have therefore learned to ſet a value on thoſe who are left. Neither of us now can find many whom he has known ſo long as we have known each other. Do not let us loſe our intimacy at a time when we ought rather to think of encreaſing it. We both ſtand almoſt ſingle in the world. I have no brother, and with your ſiſter you have little correſpondence; but if you will take my advice, you will make ſome overtures of reconciliation to her. You have been to blame. You know it is your duty firſt to ſeek a renewed kindneſs. If ſhe has been faulty, you have an opportunity to exerciſe the virtue of forgiveneſs. You muſt conſider that of her faults and follies no very great part is her own; much has been the conſequence of her education, and part may be imputed to the neglect

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with which you have ſome time treated her. Had you endeavoured to gain her kindneſs and her confidence, you would have had an influence over her. I hope that before I ſhall ſee you, ſhe will have had a viſit or a letter from you; the longer you delay the more you will ſome time repent. When I am muſing alone I feel a pang for every moment that any human being has by my peeviſhneſs or obſtinacy ſpent in uneaſineſs.

I know not how I have fallen upon this; I had no thought of it when I began the letter, but I am glad that I have written it.

I am, deareſt Sir,

Your moſt affectionate,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Nov. 18, 1756.

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DEAR SIR,

You may be confident that what I can do for you either by help or counſel in this perplexity ſhall not be wanting, and I take it as a proof of friendlineſs that you have recourſe to me in this ſtrange revolution of your domeſtick life.

I do not wonder that the commotion of your mind made it difficult for you to give me a particular account, but while my knowledge is only general my advice muſt be general too.

Your firſt care muſt be of yourſelf and your own quiet, do not let this vexation take poſſeſſion of your thoughts, or ſink too deep into your heart. To have an unſuitable or unhappy marriage happens every day to multitudes, and you muſt endeavour to bear it like your fellow-ſuf-

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ferers by diverſion at one time, and reflection at another. The happineſs of conjugal life cannot be aſcertained or formed either by ſenſe or by virtue, and therefore its miſeries may be numbered among thoſe evils which we cannot prevent, and muſt only labour to endure with patience, and palliate with judgment. If your condition is known, I ſhould (think) it beſt to come from the place, that you may not be a gazing ſtock to idle people who have nobody but you to talk of, you may live privately in a thouſand places till the novelty of the tranſaction is worn away. I ſhall be glad to contribute to your peace by any amuſement in my power. * *

I know you never lived very well together, but I ſuppoſe that an outrage like this muſt have been preceded by ſome uncommon degrees of diſcord from which you might have prognoſticated ſome odd deſign, or that

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preparations for this excurſion muſt have been made of which the recollection may give you ſome direction what to conjecture and how to proceed.

You know that I have never adviſed you to anything tyrannical or violent, and in the preſent caſe it is of great importance to keep yourſelf in the right, and not injure your own right by any intemperance of reſentments or eagerneſs of repriſal. For the preſent I think it prudent to forbear all purſuit, and all open enquiry, to wear an appearance of complete indifference, and calmly wait the effects of time, of neceſſity, and ſhame. I ſuppoſe ſhe cannot live long without your money, and the confeſſion of her want will probably humble her. Whether you will inform her brother I muſt leave to your diſcretion, who know his character and the terms on which you have

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lived. If you write to him, write like a man ill-treated, but neither dejected nor enraged.

I do not know what more I can ſay without more knowledge of the caſe, only I repeat my advice that you keep yourſelf cheerful, and add that I would have you contribute nothing to the publication of your own misfortune. I wondered to ſee the note tranſcribed by a hand which I did not know.

I am, dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Auguſt 13, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE endeavoured to conſider your affair according to the knowledge which the papers that you have

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ſent me can afford, and will very freely tell you what occurs to me.

Who Mr. W * * is I know not, but unleſs his character in the world or ſome particular relation to yourſelf entitles him to uncommon reſpect, you ſeem to treat him with too much deference by ſoliciting his intereſt and condeſcending to plead your cauſe before him, and implor-ing him to ſettle thoſe terms of ſeparation which you have a right to preſcribe. You are in my opinion to conſider yourſelf as a man injured, and inſtead of making defence to expect ſubmiſſion. If you deſert yourſelf, who can ſupport you? * * * * * * * * However nothing is done that can much hurt you.

You enquire what the fugitive Lady has in her power; ſhe has, I think, nothing in her power but to return home, and to mend her behaviour. To obtain a ſeparate main-

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tenance ſhe muſt prove either cruelty to her perſon or infidelity to her bed, and I ſuppoſe neither charge can be ſupported. Nature has given women ſo much power, that the law has very wiſely given them little.

The letter for Mr. T * * I think you do not want, it is his part to write to you who are ill-treated by his ſiſter. You owe him, I think, no obligations, but have been accuſtomed to act among your wife's relations with a character of inferiority which I would adviſe you to take this opportunity of throwing off for ever. Fix yourſelf in the reſolution of exacting reparation for the wrong that you ſuffer, and think no longer that you are to be firſt inſulted and then to recompenſe by ſubmiſſion the trouble of inſulting you.

If a ſeparate alimony ſhould come to be ſtipulated, I do not ſee why

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you ſhould by an abſurd generoſity pay your wife for diſobedience and elopement. What allowance will be proper I cannot tell, but would have you conſult our old friend Mr. H * * . His profeſſion has acquainted him with matrimonial law, and he is in himſelf a cool and wiſe man. I would not have him come to Aſhbourne nor you go to Lichfield. Meet at Tutbury or ſome other obſcure and commodious place, and talk the caſe at large with him, not merely as a proctor but as a friend.

Your declaration to Mr. W * * that you deſired nothing to be a ſecret, was manly and right: perſiſt in that ſtrain of talking, receive nothing as from favour or from friendſhip. Whatever you grant you are to grant by compaſſion, whatever you keep you are to keep by right.

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With Mr. T * * * you have no buſineſs, till he brings his ſiſter in his hand, and deſires you to receive her.

I do not mean all this to exclude all poſſibility of accommodation; if there is any hope of living happily or decently, cohabitation is the moſt reſpectable for both.

Your firſt care muſt be to procure to yourſelf ſuch diverſions as may preſerve you from melancholy and depreſſion of mind, which is a greater evil than a diſobedient wife. Do not give way to grief, nor nurſe vexation in ſolitude. Conſider that your caſe is not uncommon, and that many live very happily who have like you ſucceeded ill in their happier connexion.

I cannot but think that it would be prudent to remove from the clamours, queſtions, hints, and looks of

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the people about you, but of this you can judge better than,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Auguſt 18, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING with ſome impatience reckoned on hearing from you theſe laſt two poſts, and being diſappointed, I can form to myſelf no reaſon for the omiſſion but perturbation of mind or diſorder of body ariſing from it, and therefore I once more adviſe removal from Aſhbourne, as the proper remedy both for the cauſe and the effect.

You perhaps aſk whither ſhould I go? any whither where your caſe is not known, and where your preſence

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will cauſe neither looks nor whiſpers. When you are the neceſſary ſubject of common talk, you will not ſafely be at reſt.

If you cannot conveniently write to me yourſelf, let ſomebody write for you to,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Auguſt 27, 1763.

Sept. 3, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

MR. W * * * , whatever may be his general character, ſeems to have yielded on this occaſion a very ſoft admiſſion to very ſtrong prejudices. He believes every thing againſt you, and nothing in your favour. I am therefore glad that his profeſſion of

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neutrality ſo vehemently declared has ſet you free from the obligation of a promiſe made with more frankneſs than prudence to refer yourſelf to his deciſion.

Your letters to him are written with great propriety, with coolneſs and with ſpirit, and ſeem to have raiſed his anger only by diſappointing his expectations of being conſidered as your protector, and being ſolicited for favour and countenance. His attempts to intimidate you are childiſh and indecent. What have you to dread from the law? The law will give Mrs. T * * * no more than her due, and you do not deſire to give her leſs.

I wiſh you had uſed the words *pretended* friendſhip, and would have you avoid on all occaſions to declare whether if ſhe ſhould offer to return you will or will not receive her. I do not ſee that you have any thing

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more than to ſit ſtill, and expect the motions of the Lady and her friends. If you think it neceſſary to retain coun*cil (ſic)*, I ſuppoſe you will have recourſe to Dr. Smallbrook, and ſome able man of the Common Law or Chancery, but though you may retain them proviſionally, you need do nothing more; for I am not of opinion that the Lady's friends will ſuffer her cauſe to be brought into the courts.

I do not wonder that Mr. W * * * is ſomewhat incredulous when you tell him that you do not know your own income; pray take care to get information, and either grow wiſe or conceal your weakneſs. I could hardly believe you myſelf when I found that a wrong letter had been ſent to W * * * by your ſervant who made the packet. You are the firſt man who being able to read and write had packets of domeſtick quar-

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rels made by a ſervant. Idleneſs in ſuch matters muſt end in ſlavery, and I think you may leſs diſgracefully be governed by your lady than by Mr. F * * *. It is a maxim that no man ever was enſlaved by influence while he was fit to be free.

I cannot but think that Mr. W * * * has reaſon on his ſide when he adviſes the diſmiſſion of H * * *. Why ſhould you not diſmiſs her? It is more injury to her reputation to keep her than to ſend her away, and the loſs of her place you may recompenſe by a preſent or ſome ſmall annuity conveyed to her. But this I would have you do not in compliance with ſolicitation or advice, but as a juſtification of yourſelf to the world. The world has always a right to be regarded.

In affairs of this kind it is neceſſary to converſe with ſome intelligent man, and by conſidering the queſtion

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in all ſtates to provide means of obviating every charge. It will ſurely be right to ſpend a day with H * * *. Do not on this occaſion either want money or ſpare it.

You ſeem to be ſo well pleaſed to be where you are that I ſhall not now preſs your removal, but do not believe that every one who rails at your wife, wiſhes well to you. A ſmall country town is not the place in which one would chuſe to quarrel with a wife, every human being in ſuch places is a ſpy.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.

DEAR SIR,

THE alterations which you made in the letter, though I cannot think

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that they much mended it, yet did no harm, and perhaps the letter may have the effect of bringing the Lady and her friends to terms truly moderate and reaſonable, by ſhewing what ſlight account you make of menaces and terror. I no more deſire than you to bring the cauſe before the Courts, and if they who are on the Lady's ſide can prove nothing, they have no ſuch deſign. It is not likely that even if they had proof of incontinency, they would deſire to produce it, or make any other uſe of it than to terrify you into their own conditions.

Of the letter which you ſent me I can form no judgment till you let me know how it came into your hands. If the ſervant who received it produced it voluntarily, I ſuſpect that it was written on purpoſe to be ſhewn you; if you diſcovered it by accident, it may be ſuppoſed to be

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written that it might be ſhewn to others.

I do not ſee that it deſerves or requires any notice on either ſuppoſition.

You ſuppoſe your houſekeeper at Aſhbourne of treachery, and I doubt not but that the lady has been [ ]* to leave friends and ſpies behind her. But let your ſervant be treacherous as you ſuppoſe, it is your own fault if ſhe has any thing to betray. Do your own buſineſs, and keep your own ſecrets, and you may bid defiance to ſervants and to treachery.

Your conduct with regard to H * * * has, I think, been exactly right, it will be fit to keep her in ſight for ſome months, and let her have dirɛteions to ſhew herſelf as much as ſhe can.

Your ill health proceeds immediately from the perturbation of your mind. Any incident which makes a man the talk and ſpectacle

* A word torn out here.

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of the world without any addition to his honour, is naturally vexatious, but talk and looks are all the evils which this domeſtick revolution has brought upon you. I knew that you and your wife lived unquietly together, I find that provocations were greater than I had known, and do not ſee what you have to regret but that you did not ſeparate in a very ſhort time after you were united. You know, however, that I was always cautious when I touched on your differences, that I never adviſed extremities, and that I commonly ſoftened rather than inſtigated reſentment. What paſſes in private can be known only to thoſe between whom it paſſes, and they who are ignorant of the cauſe and progreſs of connubial differences, as all muſt be but the parties themſelves, cannot without raſhneſs give any counſel concerning them. Your determination againſt cohabitation with the

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Lady I ſhall therefore paſs over, with only this hint, that you muſt keep it to yourſelf, for as by elopement ſhe makes herſelf liable to the charge of violating the marriage contract, it will be prudent to keep her in the criminal ſtate, by leaving her in appearance a poſſibility of return, which preſerves your ſuperiority in the conteſt, without taking from you the power of limiting her future authority, and preſcribing your own conditions.

I cannot but think that by ſhort journeys, and variety of ſcenes, you may diſſipate your vexation, and reſtore your health, which will certainly be impaired by living where every thing ſeen or heard impreſſes your misfortunes on your mind.

I am, dear Sir,

Your moſt, &c., &c.

SAM. JOHNSON.

Sept. 29, 1763.

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DEAR SIR,

I CONGRATULATE you upon the happy end of ſo vexatious an affair, the happieſt that could be next to reformation and reconcilement. You ſee how eaſily ſeeming difficulties are ſurmounted.

That your mind ſhould be harried, and your ſpirits weakened it is no wonder; your whole care now ſhould be to ſettle and repair them. Do this, and I would have you make uſe of all diverſions, ſports of the field abroad, improvements of your place, or little ſchemes of building and planting, books at home, or if you cannot compoſe yourſelf to read, a continual ſucceſſion of eaſy company. Be ſure never to be unemployed. Go not to bed till you ſleep, and riſe as ſoon as you wake, and give up no

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hours to muſing and retroſpect. Be always buſy.

You will hardly be quite at eaſe till you have talked yourſelf out to ſome friend or other, and I think you and I might contrive ſome retreat for part of the ſummer, where we might ſpend ſome time quietly together, the world knowing nothing of the matter.

I hear you talk of letting your houſe at Weſtminſter. Why ſhould you let it? Do not ſhew yourſelf either intimidated or aſhamed, but come and face mankind like one that expects not cenſure but praiſe. You will now find that you have money and may come and ſpend a little upon popular hoſpitality. Your low ſpirits have given you bad counſel, you ſhall not give your wife, nor your wife's friends, whoſe power you now find to be nothing, the triumph of driving you out of life. If you be-

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tray yourſelf who can ſupport you? All this I ſhall be glad to diſcuſs with you in a perſonal interview at ſome proper place where we may enjoy a few days in private.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.

May 22, 1764.

DEAR SIR,

IT is ſo long ſince I heard from you that I know not well whither to write. With all your building and feaſting, you might have found an hour in ſome wet day for the remembrance of your old friend. I ſhould have thought that ſince you have led a life ſo feſtive and gay, you would have invited me to partake of your hoſpitality. I do not know but

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I may come invited or uninvited, and paſs a few days with you in Auguſt or September, unleſs you ſend me a prohibition, or let me know that I ſhall be inſupportably burthenſome. Let me know your thoughts on this matter, becauſe I deſire to go to ſome place or other, and would be ſorry to produce any inconvenience for my own gratification.

Let me know how you go on in the world, and what entertainment may be expected in your new room by,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate ſervant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Temple, July 15, 1765.

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DEAR SIR,

You need be no longer in pain, for I received your letter, but though when I wrote to you I expected ſoon to have had it in my power to go to you, yet, as it often happens, one thing or another has obſtructed my purpoſe.

My Shakeſpeare is now out of my hands, and I do not ſee what can hinder me any longer. When I find that I can come I will write to you, for I ſuppoſe you will meet me at Derby. I think it time that we ſhould ſee one another, and ſpend a little of our ſhort life together.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Oct. 2, 1765.
Johnſon's Court, Fleet Street.

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DEAR SIR,

I HOPE the danger that has threatened you is now over, and that you have nothing now to overcome but that languor which muſt neceſſarily ſucceed a diſorder ſo violent as yours. Recovery is a ſtate which requires great caution, and I entreat you not to be negligent of yourſelf.

I am now at Lichfield, and if my company can afford you either help or entertainment I am ready to come to you. If you can write let me know from yourſelf the ſtate of your health, if writing is difficult, let me hear by ſome other hand. Be very careful of yourſelf.

I am, dear Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Lichfield, July 2, 1770.

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DEAR SIR,

WHEN I promiſed to dine with you tomorrow I did not ſufficiently conſider what I was promiſing. On the laſt day of Lent I do not willingly go out, and ſhall be glad to change tomorrow for Monday, or any other day except Thurſday next week.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

April 17, 1772.

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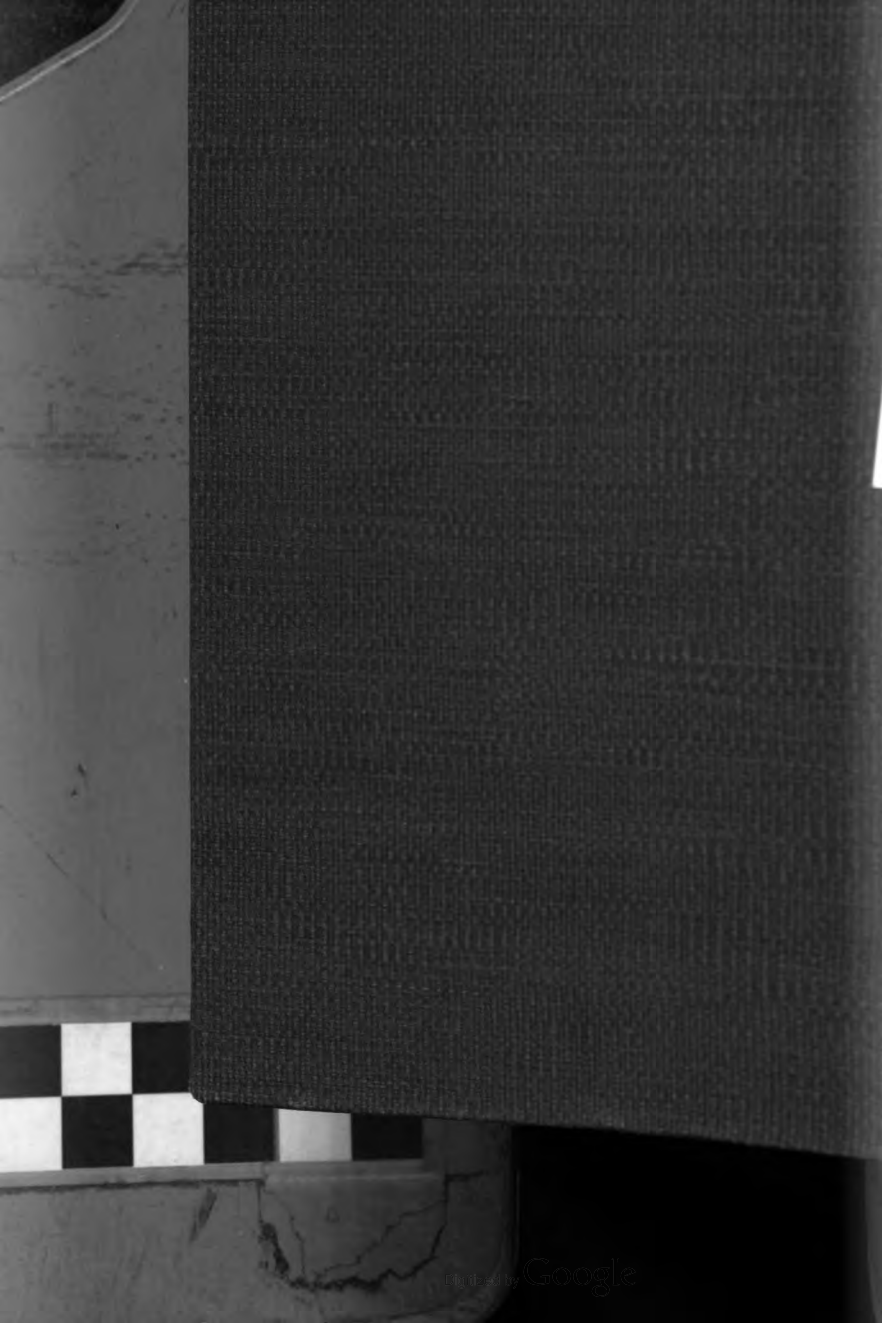

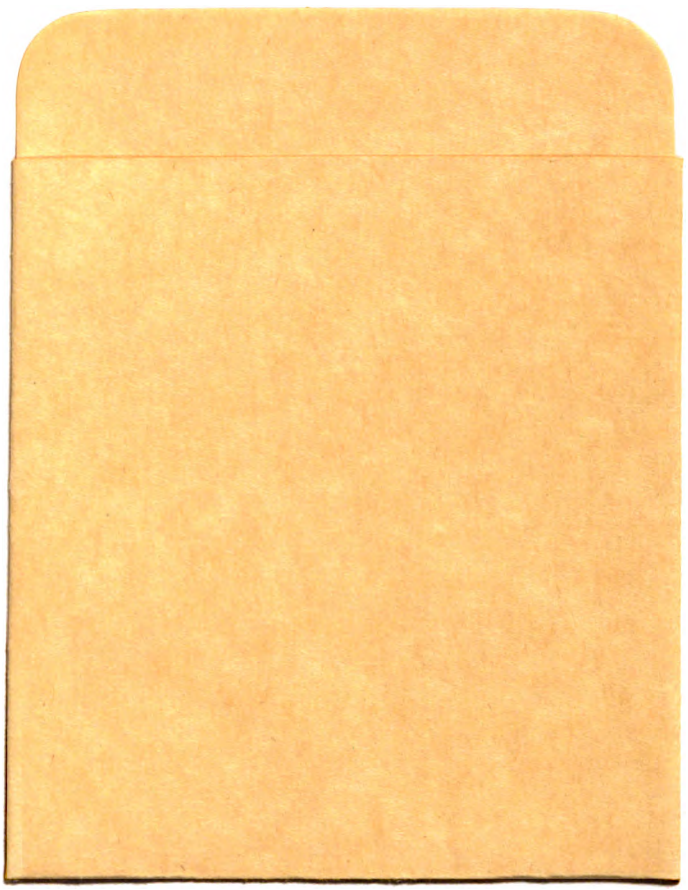

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